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CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

THE WEEK 259

EDITORIAL ARTICLES:

The Dread of Direct Taxes 262
The Main Equitable Question 262
The French and the Italians in North Africa. 263
The Rowfant Books 264

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The Situation in Mantchuria 265
Irish Affairs 266

CORRESPONDENCE:

The Harvard-Technology Merger 268
Honor to Whom Honor 268
Walpole's Letters 268

NOTES 268

BOOK REVIEWS:

Andrew D. White 272
A Geographical Apocalypse 273
Father De Smet 274
The Reminiscences of Sir Henry Hawkins, Baron Brampton 275
The Story of the Congo Free State 276
British Economics in 1904 276

BOOKS OF THE WEEK 277

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1905.

The Week.

President Roosevelt's latest header into Dominican troubled waters will not strengthen confidence in either his steadiness or his prudence. He is trying to do by indirection, and in a way doubtfully legal, what he endeavored in vain to persuade the Senate to give him power to do lawfully and directly. As in his seizure of Panama, he seems to aim at "creating a situation," during the recess of Congress, which Congress, when it meets, will have to accept even if it makes wry faces. His course will heighten the apprehensions which Secretary Hay's poor health and absence had already roused. The haste with which the President closed with the suspicious offer of Morales is not creditable to his caution. No inquiry into motives and conditions; no time (before going on a hunt) to await Minister Dawson's proposed coming to Washington, keeping the question "open" meanwhile, as that diplomat suggested, but a hurried decision on what is confessedly half-information. Not in such precipitate fashion should the foreign policy of a great nation be conducted. And where does Mr. Roosevelt find his authority for permitting "no change" in the situation in San Domingo? Acting Secretary of State Adee explains this to mean that the President of the United States will maintain the *status quo* in San Domingo. That is, he will put our ships and marines at the disposal of President Morales. He will allow no revolution to overthrow the Dominican President, even if it be supported by a majority of the people. For that, President Roosevelt has no more warrant in law than he would have to prevent the Czar of Russia from being dethroned by an uprising of the Russian nation.

President Morales is reported to be "greatly pleased," but at what? Not that the tangle of his country's finances is to be cut through, but that he himself is now, as he thinks, beyond danger of being turned out by a revolution. He will cheerfully turn all his revolutionists over to Uncle Sam. This his been his obvious aim throughout. He ardently desires to appoint Americans as collectors of Dominican customs, not because he knows or cares anything about their administrative ability, but because he firmly believes that they will be backed up by American guns. Nominally Dominican officials, Morales will regard them as Americans whom their Government is bound to protect at all hazards. Of course, it is highly probable, as it is highly desirable, that no revolutionists will try to oust them; but the risk is there, and it is one of the chances of trouble which Mr. Roosevelt is so fond of taking with a light heart. Doubtful of his legal warrant for what he may have to do, he simply clings to the larger hope that he will not have to do it. But he is evidently storing up new difficulties against the day when the Senate shall take up the Dominican treaty on its own merits.

If the French Government had appointed a Panama Commission with a great flourish of trumpets, and then cut their heads off a year later as a set of incompetents, scornful things would have been said by the American press. But when an American Administration does this, we know that it is proof of rare foresight, energy, and efficiency. In so far as the President's removal of the commissioners is based upon their bad organization as a working body, that is something which should have been perceived from the beginning. It appears, however, that his impatience with them is largely due to the fact that they have insisted upon making plans before executing them. This difficulty will persist, however, no matter what the reorganization or what the new personnel. An immense amount of preliminary study must yet be done on the canal if the whole project is not to be botched. So far as we know, no published report deals at all adequately with the changes in marine architecture as affecting the whole question of the depth of the canal and navigation through it. Yet that is a subject requiring the nicest attention. It would be a reproach to us to build a canal with a hurrah, only to find, as the Suez does to-day, that the latest types of steamer could not use it.

In selecting the new Panama Commission, the President has radically departed from the theory which guided him in choosing the first. For engineering experts, it is evident that he has determined to substitute driving men of business, yet the expert knowledge is to be supplied through a board of consulting engineers. Their first duty, as Secretary Taft states in his letter of instruction, will be to fix upon the true plan to be followed in building the canal. Then the executive Commission, with the army and navy to help, will be counted upon to put through the work. But the main thing is to elect the wisest plan. In spite of all the studies and projects already put forward, no satisfactory solution of all the problems involved has yet been hit upon. Another question carefully to be considered is whether the work shall be done by the Government itself, or by contract. If the former, every safeguard against jobbery that can be devised will be needed.

To those who recall the excited reception of the Government's estimate last December that the cotton crop would be 12,400,000 bales—exceeding by a million any previous record—a little surprise may be pardoned at the tame greeting given to the "ginning report" of the Census Bureau, on March 28, which marks up the December figure to 13,500,000 bales. It should be observed that the former estimate, prepared when the cotton harvest had hardly begun, was general, whereas the "ginning returns," giving the amount actually passed through the gin in preparation for market, are reasonably close to accuracy. It might have been supposed, therefore, that the dismay of the cotton community last December would now be redoubled—more particularly so since the price of cotton stands to-day exactly where it did on the eve of the earlier estimate. The fact is, however, that the cotton producer has now discovered certain compensating advantages in a "bumper" crop. A year ago, the entire South seemed to have made up its mind that its prosperity was pinned to cotton at 15 cents a pound. That such a prize was driving away consumers and killing the spinning industry at Manchester and Fall River, did not affect this sentiment in the least. The popular attitude resembled that of Wall Street in April, 1901, when skeptics who whispered that stocks were pretty high were angrily asked if they had lost faith in the United States.

This feeling expressed itself in the case of cotton somewhat amusingly. The experts of the Department of Agriculture, whose 9,900,000-bale estimate of a year before had been most kindly greeted, were denounced as jugglers and frauds, hauled before a special committee of Congress, and there publicly accused of manipulating the returns. Public-spirited planters emerged into view, at various Southern points, with eloquent appeals to burn up part of the "bumper" crop. Meanwhile, a community which had been foolishly speculating for the rise in cotton, had to sell its "options" for the best price obtainable. As with the Wall Street of 1901, completion of this unpleasant process left people with a clarified view of the situation, and the first thing that they saw was an instant revival in the world's cotton-goods trade at the lower prices. This is the secret both of the recovery in cotton prices to a remunerative though not

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extravagant figure, in the face of the much higher "ginning estimate" of last week, and of its complacent reception. The outcome is highly satisfactory; not least so because it disposes, for a good while to come, of the profound distress of the "worrying" school of economists as to whether the world would hereafter grow enough cotton to clothe itself.

The plan for building a great modern immigrant station at New Orleans and attempting to divert part of the emigration from the countries of Southern Europe to that port, is of interest in connection with the efforts of some of the Southern States to secure white labor from abroad. Last year New Orleans ranked only eighth in the number of aliens admitted, its total being 4,946, or less than one-one hundred and twentieth of the corresponding figure for Ellis Island. Commissioner-General Sargent, anxious as he is to prevent the congestion of foreigners in the Eastern cities, has approved the plan for increased facilities for handling immigrants at New Orleans. The steamship companies, if they choose, can doubtless induce a larger proportion to land there. But that this will make them stay in the South is not certain. In the last fiscal year, only 95 arriving immigrants gave South Carolina as their destination, only 112 North Carolina, only 1,096 Alabama. Opportunity and not distance must, in the long run, be the controlling factor. Illinois, which is just about as far away as Alabama from this port, was the destination of 57,457 immigrants last year. It is perhaps true that the planters who have gone to the docks at New Orleans to engage men as soon as they landed, may have secured some who would otherwise have gone elsewhere, but if once the immigrants learn that their outlook is better in the South than in other sections, they are bound to go there, no matter what their port of entry.

Although Maryland will not vote on the negro-suffrage amendment for seven months, discussion is already spirited. The Baltimore *News*, answering a statement by Murray Vandiver, chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, makes some telling points. It disposes of the argument that the existence of bi-partisan registration boards in every precinct would ensure just enforcement of the requirement that the voter "understand" the State Constitution. On the tens of thousands of doubtful cases, it points out, the registration boards would divide two to two. "Nobody with a grain of sense imagines that that feature of the law would be permitted to stand after the disfranchising amendments had got into operation." Inevitably, it would mean a return to the old system of 2 to 1 registration boards which "was the corner-stone of election frauds prior to 1895." Chairman Vandiver further stated that the "educational clause" was taken from the Virginia Constitution. While this is literally true, the Virginia provision was made to apply only to original registration under the act, while in Maryland it is proposed as a permanent condition. Since January 1, 1904, the educational test in Virginia has been simply the writing of name, age, residence, etc., in the presence of the registration officers. "That Maryland is not driven to the use of methods which, in States farther South, have been felt to be a deplorable necessity," says the *News*, "we need not here insist; the point we wish to make is, that what Vandiver says of Virginia is not true."

If the guests at the Missouri Society dinner last week expected to hear Gov. Folk lay down any novel principles of government or emit surprising views on politics, they were diappointed. But his career is doubly inspiring because of its lack of such things. "The Missouri idea," as he defined it in words at the dinner, and has still more clearly expressed it in his acts, "means the enforecement of law, and that if the law be bad, the remedy is to repeal, not to ignore it." Mr. Folk did not win fame by devising new laws or new machinery as safeguards against the wrongdoer; he did not try to extend his activities beyond the powers of the office in which the people had placed him. He simply did his sworn duty under the laws as he found them. The laws were not all they should have been, and he has since tried to supplement and improve them; but the work which made his name known to the country was done under statutes which any of his predecessors might have used had they had the same sense of public duty. As Lincoln said of Grant, he did not begin by asking for additional resources, and complaining that he could accomplish nothing without them. Unlike some of the "reform Governors" with whose names his is often coupled, Folk is no innovator, nor has he a panacea for the ills of the country; but he presents the most prominent example now before the country of what can be accomplished through fearless enforcement of the laws as they are.

Rhode Island politics being what is known, it has been something of an anomaly that the form of ballot used in that State is the one most in favor with reformers and best calculated to encourage independent voting. However, Gov. Utter and the present Legislature are bestirring themselves to see that this condition may no longer puzzle the publicist. A commission appointed by the Governor and Speaker, with Senator Elisha Dyer as chairman, has just recommended that the present pure Australian ballot be abandoned for one having the party column. Whereas at present even the voter of a straight ticket must examine and mark separately each candidate of his party, the commission proposes to introduce the "straight-ticket" circle. The type chosen is the one used in New Hampshire, Michigan, Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho. Under it the man who desires to vote for a Democrat for Governor and Republicans for all other offices may put his cross in the Republican circle, then *scratch out* the name of the Republican candidate for Governor and make a cross opposite the Democrat's name. Thus it is mechanically a little more difficult to vote a split ticket than here in New York, where the erasure is unnecessary, though decidedly easier than in Iowa, Kansas, or Indiana, where the form of ballot is the same but the law requires every name to be marked separately when a split ticket is voted. One of the commission's recommendations, that "no ballot shall be rejected for any technical error which does not make it impossible to determine the voter's choice," is doubtless a very proper provision in view of the long controversy over the official canvass last fall, but the disputes over alleged identification marks had nothing to do with the form of the ballot. The change is in the interest of nobody except the hidebound party man. For all that, the Providence *Journal* describes the recommendations as "reforms in the ballot laws."

By the strict party vote of 33 to 14, and obviously under the lash of the Republican caucus, the stock-transfer bill and the mortgage tax bill passed the New York Senate Monday night. The inequitable stock-transfer tax will, of course, affect the purely speculative branch of Stock Exchange business, but no more than would a similar tax affect sales of dry goods, iron, grain, or cotton. It will leave to the gambling speculator, moreover, the power to transfer his large transactions to the exchanges of other States—an expedient which the nature of his business makes easier for him than for the bona-fide investor. The mortgage tax bill has not received the public attention which it deserves. Indeed, a curious notion has been created, in some quarters, that the one-half of one per cent. tax proposed is the relatively unobjectionable "registration tax" projected and defeated at Albany a couple of years ago. Nothing could be further than this from the purposes of the pending measure. It imposes an annual tax—less in its percentage figure, to be sure, than that of the personalty tax in which mortgages have hitherto been included—but levied, unlike the personalty tax, on the entire and ascertained sum of capital invested in the mortgage. Considering that the interest rate

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obtained on good mortgage loans, in this city, ranges from 4 to 5 per cent., this one-half per cent. tax would clearly amount to a tax of 10 to 12½ per cent. on all incomes procured from such investments. Whose are these incomes on which such a burden is to be imposed? Every one knows that investment in real-estate mortgages is the recourse of the thrifty citizen in moderate circumstances, of the small estate left as the sole support of a dependent family on the death of the bread-winner, or of the trust funds of institutions which, like the savings bank and the building and loan association, exist for the benefit of people of narrow means.

George C. Holden, the postal inspector who "borrowed" $1,100 from the Storey Cotton Company of Philadelphia, which he was investigating, had evidently learned his business from Beavers, Machen, and other prominent officers of the Department. The get-rich-quick concern of Philadelphia was known by every reputable cotton dealer in the country to be a fraud. Twice its swindling operations were exposed at length in the *Evening Post*. The charges were laid before the postal authorities, who for some mysterious reason refused to act against men who were notoriously using the mails to cheat small investors in every part of the United States. The total amount of money stolen is variously estimated at from one to four millions; the lowest sum is certainly large enough. These heavy losses fall chiefly upon clerks, school teachers, and other "lambs" who embarked their slender savings in this bottomless enterprise. Holden is a man who clearly belongs to the régime of Charles Emory Smith and Henry C. Payne; and Postmaster-General Cortelyou will, we trust, deal with him as he deserves. The incident has no moral except the old one:

> "Clap on a lock, keep watch and ward!
> But who the guards themselves shall guard?"

Unprecedentedly large are the orders being booked for anthracite coal. This is due only in part to the usual spring reduction in price. It is largely ascribed to the fear of another strike in the anthracite mines when the present truce between operators and men expires by limitation. The wise and prudent are foreseeing the evil, and stocking up with coal. The "war-chest policy" in public finance was long ago discarded by all nations except Germany, but the present rush for anthracite presents the picture of a curious revival of an analogous practice in the domain of industry. It yet remains an open question whether the anthracite settlement, or rather the anthracite compromise, effected through Mr. Roosevelt's mediation, will prove of lasting public advantage. Coal at any price is demanded by a shivering public; but the way the resumption of mining coal was secured has left many wary observers shivering even in warm weather, and two years in advance of the winter of 1906-7. It was doubtless possible for miner and operator to decide, at the instance of the chief executive, even though acting in a private capacity, in what proportions they would share the extra price to be imposed on the consumer. But who will go warranty for another easy agreement as to the division of the spoil?

The meaning of Mr. Balfour's decision to withdraw party support from resolutions on the Chamberlain plan was insufficiently brought out in the dispatches. The press reports make the matter clearer. Lord Hugh Cecil, in a remarkable speech, interpreted the action as a complete disclaimer of Chamberlainism, and Mr. Balfour allowed the gloss to stand undisputed. The theory that the Ainsworth motion, condemning duties on manufactures, was non-contentious, Lord Hugh Cecil treated with contempt. He recalled the fact that Cabinet Ministers had been driven out because of their hostility to the Chamberlain plan, and new appointments made with a view to the protectionist propaganda. He regretted that the Government had not maintained neutrality on the issue, and he took Mr. Balfour's flight before the motion as clear evidence that he had at last cast in his lot with the Unionist free-traders. The repudiation of the protectionist programme was, he held, complete. "After to-night," he said, "tariff reform would pass from being a heresy into being a laughing-stock." Mr. Balfour, his cousin explained, "had made it clear that the Conservative party was not a protectionist party, and that it had not been captured by the Tariff Reform League." The conclusion was only too obvious that Mr. Balfour had botched the whole matter of handling the Chamberlain agitation, and was now both deserting his former colleague and running away from the mess he himself had made. When flight is the only purposeful manœuvre a general ever makes, his military repute suffers. And Mr. Balfour, who receives indirect votes of censure every day or two now, will hardly get credit from trying to remedy initial vacillation by ultimate evasion.

One of the infallible signs of spring is the recrudescence of the Macedonian problem. The British Foreign Minister, speaking last week before the Lords, took the ground, first, that European control of the finances of the disturbed provinces is necessary, and that the initiative of reform must still remain with Austria and Russia. To a certain extent the two propositions are contradictory. At the present juncture no effective pressure can well be exerted by Russia, while Austria, too, suffers from internal discord. Any reforms they impose upon the Sultan are likely to prove as ineffective as that reorganization of the gendarmery so ambitiously planned in the Mürsteg convention. In spite of the appointment of a few Christian officers, the misgovernment of the three vilayets continues. One hears already of outrages by the Turkish troops and of reprisals by the revolutionary bands. The Porte has served the usual protest upon Bulgaria for fomenting the revolt across the border. Furthermore, the whole situation has grown much more difficult through the appearance of the Greeks in military guise. Formerly this nationality held its own by guile, and was impartially oppressed by Albanians, Bulgars, and Turks. Now we learn of Grecian partisans fighting against the Bulgar agitators. Thus a new racial complication becomes menacing in a situation already perilously mixed. One cannot share Lord Lansdowne's belief that the various remedial measures have been of any avail, or that there is any promise in further joint action by Russia and Austria. The redemption of the harassed vilayets seems the task of the most disinterested Powers—France and England. England, in particular, cannot evade the moral responsibility she incurred through curtailing Bulgarian territory by the Treaty of Berlin.

What the Kaiser said at Tangier is matter of some dispute, but it may be assumed that he used his characteristic outspokenness. Such, at any rate, was the tone in which Chancellor von Bülow discussed the open door in Morocco. On the same subject a statesman of a more reticent cast, M. Delcassé, made a reassuring utterance before the French Senate on Friday. As if to offset any disquieting effect from what Bülow had said and the Kaiser was sure to say, he declared that France had no territorial ambitions in Morocco, and meant to keep that country open on equal terms to the world's trade. Thus the Kaiser and the French Foreign Minister were almost simultaneously advocating the integrity of the Sultanate and the open door. The anti-German press sees a psychological moment of considerable menace: the Kaiser has taken advantage of the humiliation of France's ally, Russia, to proclaim an aggressive policy in the Mediterranean. But the support of Russia was almost valueless for Mediterranean purposes, while England is a really formidable contingent ally for France as against possible German designs on the Moorish coast. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that the German declarations are other than commercial in intent. Bülow is engaged in Mr. Hay's favorite occupation of demanding the open door, but with an unction possible only in a protectionist Minister.

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THE DREAD OF DIRECT TAXES.

The taxation muddle at Albany is rather worse than usual this year. In vain do party caucuses, in vain does the Governor, plead for harmony and appeal for new revenue. Formidable objections are offered to every proposed additional tax, and the Legislature seems almost at its wits' end to know how to provide the money to meet the expenses which it has authorized. The surplus cannot be drawn upon indefinitely. Either more money must be put into the Treasury or the horrible alternative be faced of taking less out. Yet the mortgage tax is stoutly resisted, the stock-transfer tax is shown to be unsound, and which way shall the troubled tithingmen at Albany turn? When some hardy spirits ventured to whisper that it might be necessary to return to a direct tax, the suggestion excited acute alarm, and left both the Legislature and the Governor aghast.

The fear of direct taxes is getting to be common in this country. State after State aspires to the proud distinction of being able to say to its citizens: "You have to pay nothing for the expenses of your Government." New Jersey long ago began to make that boast. The cost of her general administration was fully met by corporation taxes. Whether the corporations did not immediately set up as tax collectors, and make the innocent and rejoicing citizens pay without knowing it, was a question which no patriotic Jerseyman would ever ask. "No State taxes" was a taking cry, and Governor Odell was soon raising it in New York. Here, however, the system of purely indirect taxes is breaking down under our eyes. The old ones are not adequate; new ones are almost impossible to find. Yet a kind of blank despair settles down upon the authorities when it is proposed to revert to the sure and simple expedient of a direct tax.

This only shows how far in folly we have travelled; how completely we have been drugged by sophisms about taxation; how entirely forgotten are the sound arguments, both economic and political, in favor of direct taxation. It is too much, no doubt, to ask our busy statesmen at Albany to read Professor Seligman's 'The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation,' but there ought to be some way of giving them simple lessons in the inevitable diffusion of taxes throughout the entire community. Happy-thought legislators suppose they have solved the whole problem by incorporation taxes or franchise taxes or mortgage taxes or stock-transfer taxes. A few, they imagine, will have to pay, and the other lucky dogs will escape. But as well think to exert pressure upon one portion of water in a pail without disturbing the rest. A tax, even when apparently most indirect, is the one of those "good things" which every man displays most unselfish eagerness to "pass on" to his neighbor.

That there is great popular misapprehension about this shifting of taxation is no reason why those who levy taxes should shut their eyes to the facts. Bucolic ignorance, even blissful, ought to be rudely disturbed. The farmer should have it made plain to him that a tax on mortgages, such as his innocent soul rejoices in because he thinks it is a good way to draw the fangs of money-lenders, really reflects itself in the higher rate of interest which he has to pay on every loan. But the political viciousness of indirect taxes is even more glaring than their economic. They are a direct temptation to extravagance. They cover up the truth, and lead credulous citizens to suppose that the Treasury is filled by a species of magic, instead of by draining their own pockets, and hence that wasteful schemes of public expenditure do not much matter, since nobody, except the hated corporations, has to foot the bill. What our indirect system of tariff taxation has done to debauch the political integrity of this country (quite apart from the outright corruption to which protectionists have resorted) is incalculable. All indirect taxes violate that canon of Adam Smith's which age cannot wither: "The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid, ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person."

The tax-gatherer is the chief of political schoolmasters. Others intimate or allege waste in carrying on government; he demonstrates it by figures which cannot lie. All the more desirable, is it, therefore, that he be allowed to go as straight as possible to every citizen with his wholesome lessons. He is the great reinforcer of the axioms of political morality. It is easy for theorists to assert, or deny, that war and preparations for it are a crushing economic burden; but there is no refuting the eloquence of the tax bills. They are the great check upon lavish government; they make Presidents and Governors and Congresses and Legislatures think twice before embarking upon grandiose projects. Hence it is of the highest importance, in the public interest, that every man be made to know precisely how much his rulers are taking from his earnings to support the Government. In this light, direct taxes are to be welcomed rather than dreaded. They tend to bring about that clear understanding of the situation which Voltaire expressed by writing that every time an individual applied for a pension or a Government grant of any kind, he really demanded so much money out of the pockets of his neighbors.

We have approved of Governor Higgins for insisting that the Legislature cut its coat according to its cloth; that it first provide money before voting it away. But this is not to approve a frightened clinging to a false system of taxation. Instead of moving heaven and earth to find some fresh and offensive form of indirect taxation, let there be a frank return to direct taxes. They will produce not only funds, but economy; will create not merely revenue, but possibly a political conscience under the ribs of death.

THE MAIN EQUITABLE QUESTION.

The report that James Hazen Hyde tried to shift upon the Equitable Life Assurance Society the cost of his expensive dinner to Ambassador Cambon, cannot be treated with contempt as an idle rumor. The integrity and the judgment by which a great insurance company is managed should be, like the chastity of a woman, above suspicion. This is a matter which involves more than the Equitable. Before the specific charges were made against the vice-president of the Society—the most serious of them, perhaps, openly made by President Alexander himself—the public mind had been inflamed by articles reflecting on the conduct of our great fiduciary institutions. Every fresh rumor and innuendo lends color to the old accusations of recklessness and unfaithfulness, and —if we may judge by press comment and private conversation—unsettle confidence in the insurance business generally. The time has come, then, for making a clean breast of it, for offering such detailed information as to this allegation and others of the kind that no fair-minded man can doubt that the huge funds which represent savings for wife and children are handled with skill and honesty.

There is danger that the real issue in the Equitable controversy be lost sight of in personal and factional squabbles. The latter bulk largest in the newspapers, but are not, we may be sure, the things which weigh most upon the minds of the millions of quiet people throughout the country who do not wish to see the security of their life-insurance policies in any way impaired. They are ready to cry plague upon both Hyde and Alexander, but they want the cloud lifted from a great fiduciary institution and from life-insurance methods in general. Thus the main question far transcends the quarrels between individuals or between interests. It is time that the officials concerned, and their lawyers, lifted their eyes from the ignoble and sordid bickerings upon which they have been too closely fastened, and looked at the large principles involved.

They cannot too soon make up their minds that here is no case for the arts of the compromiser. The thing has gone too far for any form of smug adjustment, with half the truth kept back. It was really so from the beginning. The president of the Equitable had said that

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the vice-president was a reckless incompetent. The vice-president had replied that the president was a disloyal and selfish intriguer. How could an honorable truce be possibly patched up between the two? Of what earthly avail could Senator Depew's rose-water be in such a situation? High finance rivals politics in making strange bedfellows, but it was utterly impossible that one pair of blankets could again cover Alexander and Hyde. Even if they had agreed to embrace and be friends, and to say that their severe accusations against each other were intended to be compliments, the matter could not have rested there. Nor could it if the cliques within the directorate had composed their differences and announced that all was for the best in the best possible of companies. A vaster interest was involved, and its just demands had to be satisfied before there could be real peace.

What we mean, of course, is the interest of the 600,000 policy-holders of the Equitable, and of the ten times that number insured in other companies. Insurance officials are important, in their way, and their bitter disputes make good gossip, but, after all, it is the great body of plain folk, anxious to make provision for old age and death by insuring their lives, who are the chief parties in interest. Their confidence has been rudely shaken by the Equitable disclosures, recriminations, antagonisms, and dark hints of blacker mysteries all the while lying behind. Unless their doubts and fears can be dispelled, the effect upon the insurance business of all companies threatens to be disastrous. People will think twice before taking out policies, or even paying premiums on old ones. Why sink money in swelling a surplus which unscrupulous financiers are fighting over for speculative purposes? Such questions may be foolish; but they are in the minds, if not on the lips, of thousands, and to answer them is the instant duty of those who care for the stability and safe ongoing of the insurance business of the whole country more than for rows between scheming officers and struggling factions.

The first step should be full, free, and *public* investigation of the Equitable's affairs. It is of no importance whether Mr. Hyde "demands" this or not; the public good demands it. And the work must be thorough and above-board. Superintendent Hendricks ought to understand that he, too, has something at stake in this business. That the Equitable officials should have been allowed to go on as they have, is of itself a reflection upon his department and the thoroughness of its inspection. This time there must be no half-way probings, no blinds, no concealments. If there are, the Legislature should go over the Superintendent's head and throw open the doors with its own hand. To let in the light is the urgent thing. The accounts should be laid open and analyzed, every suspicious entry run down to the last item and voucher. No hidden scandal, if there be one, can be half so bad dragged to the day as left in the shadow. We want to know the exact truth, whether it be consoling or not. To attempt to cover up anything will only make the public believe that things are worse than they really may be. A clean breast of everything is now the only recourse.

The true point of view is that of complete detachment from the wretched personal controversies involved. It is of no consequence whether Hyde be less black than he paints himself, or Alexander be more pure than he claims, compared with the question whether life insurance is to be able to recover from the enormous injury already done it. Perfect fearlessness in investigation and entire frankness in making the facts public are the remedies for which the situation cries out. We want to discover where we stand. Every insured man is eager to know what his true security is. And for any official of the Equitable, or of any other company, to put a single straw in the path of a complete investigation, would be to heap folly upon scandal.

THE FRENCH AND THE ITALIANS IN NORTH AFRICA.

No phenomenon of our time is of more significance for the future than the simultaneous outflow of nearly all the civilized European peoples into new countries. We are familiar with the features, though we can but dimly foresee the results, of the immigration which has for the last seventy years been pouring itself, and latterly in a more and more turbid flood, into the North American Continent. But the same process is going on in other parts of the world. Italians and Germans are filling up the vast spaces of Argentina, Uruguay, and Southern Brazil. The English are still entering New Zealand. Russians have been spreading out over Siberia. German settlers establish themselves here and there in Syria; and it is believed that if and when, upon the break-up of Austria, the German Empire obtains possession of Trieste, a systematic attempt will be made to colonize Asia Minor. In all the European peoples but one, the population tends to increase, so that there is a surplus for emigration—a surplus which is greater or less according to the fertility of marriages and according to the economic conditions at home, for the less favorable these are, so much the larger is the outflow of emigration. The one stationary population is that of France. Her census returns show a very slight decennial increase; but this is due to a small immigration, chiefly of Italians. Were she left to herself—*i. e.*, did emigrants and immigrants exactly balance one another—there would probably be a slight decline.

This fact is a serious one for France in more than one aspect. Its military significance and its economic significance are obvious. It has, however, another bearing also. France resumed in the nineteenth century her old policy of colonization; and she has now acquired enormous non-European territories in equatorial Africa and in southeastern Asia. These are regions too hot to permit of settlement by white men, so the administration and exploitation of them will impose no serious drain upon old France; but she has also annexed Algeria, which has become legally a part of the Republic, returning members to the Legislature, and she has virtually annexed Tunisia, though the nominal sovereignty of the Bey is suffered to exist and the French Resident rules in the Bey's name. Now, Algeria and Tunisia, though hot, are temperate regions, where the Frenchman of the south could work in the open air as well as at in-door handicrafts, and where, therefore, a French population might grow up and ultimately fill the country. Both regions have plenty of good land; and Tunisia in particular, which was once the granary of the Roman Empire, might again produce enormous crops of cereals and olives. Most of it now lies waste, roved over by pastoral nomads. France, however, has not got the men to send out into these new dominions. Even the prospect of good land to be had cheaper than at home does not attract the sons of her unenterprising peasantry. Italy, on the other hand, has a surplus population. It is willing to emigrate, because it is ill off at home, and particularly in the south of the peninsula and in Sicily. So there has been for many years past a considerable influx into North Africa of Italian settlers. Most of them come from Sicily, which is only some ninety-five miles from the nearest point of the African coast; and though a certain number return, many more remain.

When France used a flimsy pretext to enter Tunis and set up a protectorate there in 1882, the Italians were much annoyed. They had looked upon the country as destined one day to be theirs. It lay near; its government was weak; it was thinly peopled, with plenty of room for their emigrants. It had been one of the earliest conquests of Rome, so that they felt as if they possessed some sort of historic right to it. Nevertheless, France seized it before they could attempt to stop her, even had they been strong enough to do so. They have tried to console themselves with hopes of eventually laying hands upon Tripoli, but as that is a less attractive, because a far more arid, region, the thought of Tunis has not entirely vanished. France knows that the Italians entertain this feeling, and, as they con-

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tinue to pour into Tunis while Frenchmen do not, France is uneasy, and her publicists have been much occupied with discussing the proper policy to pursue.

A book recently published by M. Gaston Loth, professor at the French Lycée of Tunis, deals in a broad and intelligent manner with the subject, and opens up some questions of general political interest. He estimates the total population of Tunisia (all the figures are uncertain) at about 1,800,000 Musulmans and Jews (the Jews largely in the capital, and notable by their commercial activity rather than by their numbers), and 130,000 Europeans. Of these last there may be nearly 20,000 French, 80,000 to 90,000 Italians, and about 12,000 Maltese. Thus the Italians are fully four times as numerous as the French. (The Spaniards, a large element in Western Algeria, are comparatively few in Tunisia.) The Italians are nearly all poor people, field workers or artisans, wage-earners of the humbler sort. Three-fourths of them come from Sicily, the brief passage costing only about a dollar. The conditions of life for the Sicilian peasantry are so wretched that it is natural they should emigrate to a place where wages are rather higher and work is more abundant. Indeed, any one who sees how full of idle people are the impoverished towns of inland Sicily, such as Castrogiovanni, for instance, perched high on its rocky hill, with apparently no occupation for most of the inhabitants, may well wonder, not that so many quit the island, but that so many remain. There are in Algeria, according to M. Loth, about 40,000 Italians, but *there* they are in the presence of a French population nearly ten times larger (about 370,000); and as they do not form a compact block, they tend to become Gallicized, and, after a generation or two, are practically Frenchmen. In Algeria, therefore, neither the Spanish nor the much smaller Italian element gives concern to the French Republic. What troubles she may fear in Algeria will come from the Muslim natives of the interior. But in Tunis the prospect is more clouded. Should the Italian population go on increasing till it is six or seven or eight times the size of the French, which increases very little, and should the Italians retain their language and their sense of separation—and they may retain it all the more the larger their numbers become—the French Administration may find itself isolated in the midst not only of unfriendly Muslims, but of a civilized European race attached to the government of its own Motherland.

What, then, is the proper course for France to follow? This is the question which M. Loth discusses—a question not unlike that which faced the Transvaal Boers when they found the English streaming into their country after the discovery of the gold mines in 1885. France cannot well stop the Italian immigration, for not only would this be difficult and have a timorous air, but it would retard the development of Tunisia, which wants labor and could dispense with the Italians no more than Hawaii could dispense with her Portuguese and Japanese. Some French writers have raised an alarm, and have advocated a policy of suspicion, which should refuse naturalization to the immigrants, should suppress their organizations, should even perhaps try to get rid of their schools. M. Loth advises a different course, and one which will appear wiser to American eyes. He points out that the immigrants are ignorant people, with no strong national feeling for Italy, and that repressive measures might tend to create one. They have shown no disposition to embarrass the administration. Many have learned to speak French, the landowners and heads of industrial concerns being mostly Frenchmen. Naturalization *en bloc* is deemed dangerous, while even the automatic naturalization, as in Algeria, of children born in the country seems to him risky in face of the much greater number of Italians in Tunis than in Algeria. Accordingly, he holds that, while nothing should be done to interfere with their existing associations, which have had no political character, the Italians should be induced to apply individually for naturalization as French citizens, and that the process should be made cheap and easy. He suggests that three kinds of naturalization might be distinguished, the lowest carrying only private civil rights, the second to be granted to the sons of immigrants, carrying political rights also; the third, to be reserved for the grandsons of immigrants, to confer the right of eligibility to all public offices.

To make these three bites at the cherry seems fantastic, but the idea of facilitating naturalization is unquestionably right. The gift is more likely to turn the Italian into a Frenchman than to suggest to him a means of aggression against France. But, in M. Loth's view, the supreme remedy is to induce more Frenchmen to settle in Tunisia. He enumerates various schemes proposed for this purpose—free land grants, the creation of a public-works fund and offer of employment, loans to intending French immigrants, and so forth. But, unluckily, none of these seems likely to overcome the rooted unwillingness of the humbler classes in France to seek "terras alio sub sole jacentes." That very attachment to French surroundings and French ways of life which is so firm a buttress of French patriotism, keeps the Frenchman at home. Moreover, there is no surplus population to provide emigrants. It is therefore possible that Tunisia may, after all, become virtually an Italian country, for the native Mohammedan population shows no signs of asserting itself against European influences. When land grows scarcer in the world and food grows dearer, the fertile plains of North Africa, including, in the more distant future, even savage Morocco, will again be filled with an industrious population, and that population will be Europeanized. So much, natural laws will ensure; and the presence of millions of civilized men to the south of the Mediterranean, where there are now only a few hundred thousand, will be an important factor in history. But whether these millions will speak French or Italian, and whether the political strength and assimilative power of France will overcome the numerical preponderance of Italians in these rich territories, so prosperous under Carthage and afterwards under Rome—that is a question on which it will be time enough to speculate thirty or forty years hence.

THE ROWFANT BOOKS.

The capture of practically the whole of the famous Rowfant library by an enterprising American bibliopole is both a fact and a parable. The fact is that the collection on which Frederick Locker-Lampson spent so much time and money has been taken over in a lump; and the very incident serves as an apologue to show all men that in first editions as well as in pork our transactions are quick and wholesale. We can have no quarrel with the merchant who has added these rarities to his stock; he is bound to take the point of view of commerce. We feel less anger than sorrow for the millionaire who will jump at this bargain and keep the library intact. He would exhibit more than human fortitude if he let slip this chance to fill at a stroke five hundred gaps in his own collection. Nevertheless, he will miss the infinite exhilaration of five hundred separate triumphs of the chase; and he will deprive all his rivals of the thrill of following the trail with him. He will be like a man who swallows at a gulp a glass of some patiently compounded monastic cordial which he should have sipped for half an hour. If it be possible to disturb the serenity of souls in Paradise, the shade of Frederick Locker-Lampson cannot now be wholly happy, for he would doubtless have desired, with Edmond de Goncourt, that his books should be sold under the hammer of the auctioneer, so that the pleasure which the acquisition of each had given to him, might be given again, in each case, to some inheritor of his own tastes.

The transfer of many of the books to America was a thing which the original collector himself foresaw. In that witty volume of autobiography, 'My Confidences,' he says sadly, "Our most important possessions are gradually leaving the country, whether it be in the shape of a Rubens, a Botticelli, a choice

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Caxton, or a unique Shakspere quarto. They find a home in Paris or Berlin or Chicago." The new owner of the Rowfant treasures, whether he be in Chicago or New York, will, we trust, re-read 'My Confidences,' that he may both fortify himself in the faith and help to spread through this land of dollars the gospel of the true collector; for the poems by Dobson and Lang and the other praises of the Rowfant books were tributes to the spirit in which Locker-Lampson went about his undertaking, or, as he terms it, his "amiable madness."

He was born and bred to a liking for art and literature. He began modestly by picking up "ancient furniture, Louis-Seize gimcracks, china, and curiosities; also a few pieces of old silver." This curio-hunting brought him into communication with all sorts of people of kindred mind—for instance, "a divine who had a taste for the halters with which the more notorious malefactors had been hanged." Locker-Lampson did not fly so high; but he turned naturally from curios to poetry. "I seem nearer to Shakspere," he writes, "when I have his volume of 'Sonnets' (edition 1609) open before me." He was blessed with a little money, abounding energy, kind friends, and lucky chances. Thus step by step he was drawn into the pursuit of old books —"little volumes of poetry and the drama from about 1590 to 1610." He haunted the second-hand bookshops in the by-streets of London. "I studied the catalogues," he confesses, "giving out my heart in usury to such pastime. I was often unsuccessful; at other times my success was qualified, for I had to pay ruinous prices. But sometimes I have been lucky, and these shabby-looking little fellows now form a limited but curiously rare and highly interesting library of imaginative literature—a dukedom large enough for poor me."

Like all who are sealed of his tribe, he found collecting "a perennial joy" in spite of the frequency with which he was "pierced by despair." He met the most delightful people; he had amusing adventures, and exciting trials of wit with wily dealers. Two anecdotes of the many he relates are enough for the present. He returned to Bedford, the great binder, a volume that did not shut properly; it gaped. To the protest against this grievous defect, Bedford's only defence was, "Why, bless me, sir, you've been *reading* it!" "The collector," continues Locker-Lampson, "seldom condescends to become a student. I had not been reading it, and I told him so; but I understood the reasonableness of his reproach." And then there was the case of Anthony Horneck, "an elderly clergyman who must have been mature in dulness from his tenderest years." This man secured at a wonderful bargain a beautiful specimen of the Pynson Press, 1510. Discovering that it was infested with worms, the clergyman took the prompt and effectual measure of burying the book in his garden—forever.

The pleasure of buying with discrimination was also Locker-Lampson's. Ample as were his means after his second marriage, he remained too shrewd to plunge recklessly. The narrowing of the market and steady rise in prices were a genuine grief to him. "What I once could secure for five pounds," he notes, "now costs five-and-twenty. Moreover, such books are rarely to be met with; so I am abandoning this pursuit also." He had, as years passed, the solid satisfaction of seeing his hoard increase in value. The knowledge that he was richer day by day was something; but nothing in comparison to the conviction—confirmed by all witnesses—that in an enterprise which demands unusual taste, skill, and judgment, he had come off brilliantly.

These are the delights of which your millionaire often deliberately robs himself. To send an auctioneer or bookseller a *carte blanche* order for first editions or Americana, to be rich enough to buy whatever attracts one's fancy, regardless of cost, must become very monotonous after a few years. When one is seldom pierced by despair over the loss of a bargain, one can easily become bored by constant strokes of good fortune. Malmsey is no better [illegible] if you must drown in it, needless to labor the point. Even [illegible] brief notes of Locker-Lampson [illegible], a man of discernment may easily extract the whole philosophy of collecting, which is, in one aspect, the philosophy of living—to leave something to-morrow and to enjoy to-morrow. The masters do all of the art have been those "who [illegible] motto ever more is *Spes*."

THE SITUATION IN MANCHURIA.

OBERLIN, O., March 28, 1905.

There lies before me the tracing of a portion of the great Russo-Chinese map of Manchuria, which I used four years ago to direct my journey from Tieling to Harbin, a distance of 300 miles, along the line that is now being pursued by the retreating Russian army. It is, I suppose, the same map which is used by the strategists of both armies in the field and by the Governments of both Russia and Japan. Familiarity with this map and with the physical features of great [illegible] embodied in it would be of great [illegible] usage to those who prepare daily journals for the war news in our [illegible] that is, if they cared to convey a correct impression to their readers. But that they are not anxious to do this is evident from a comparison of the "scare-heads" with the printed text to which they usually call attention. An explanation of the character of the uniform announcements of Japanese victories, both actual and prospective, was given to me a short time ago by the editor of one of our leading dailies, who frankly said that such announcements were demanded by his readers, and he produced a letter just received from a disaffected subscriber, stopping his paper because it had not announced Japanese victories enough.

A candid and careful study of what has been accomplished by the Japanese, and what remains to be accomplished before their aspirations are realized, will lead to conclusions by no means so favorable to the Japanese as those which are popularly entertained in America. The truth is that the victories of Japan have been dearly bought, so that the strain upon her resources is approaching the limit of endurance. The Japanese are past masters in the art of concealing their losses and of exercising censorship over the correspondents, but there are many indications that the conscription is far from popular in Japan, while some of the bold attacks upon impregnable positions have been made by soldiers who had bayonets behind them as well as before them.

The financial strain is indicated by the fact that even the last loan which is being sold in this country, can be floated only by pledging the income from the tobacco monopoly of the Empire. At the same time a circular was issued a few weeks ago throughout this country, signed by [illegible] able men, containing a list of eminent [illegible] friends of Japan, soliciting contributions to relieve the distress as [illegible] caused by the war. This circular asserts, on the best of authority, that 2,000 families in the city of Sendai, largest which is by no means one of the [illegible] are on the verge of starvation. [illegible] facts, also

The [illegible] losses inflicted upon the Japanese fleet are far from [illegible] reassuring. The fleet is less [illegible] battleships a year ago by two first-class [illegible] ers, two [illegible] ps, three and probably four cruisers, two gunboats, and sixteen destroyers [illegible] torpedo-boats. Through these losses (for a long time concealed from the outside world) its efficiency is reduced fully one-third. It is idle to suppose that these considerations are not weighing heavily upon the minds of the Japanese statesmen who are girding themselves for the struggle that is still before them, so that nothing but the immense interests at stake could induce them to run the risk of another campaign. But these interests are so immense, and stretch so far into the future, that, in the presence of existing conditions, we cannot expect the nation to pause and propose terms of peace at all favorable to the Russians.

So far as the prospects of immediate peace are concerned, the Russian situation is equally unpromising. The English and American public is mistaken in supposing that the war is not popular in Russia. From all indications, it is as popular as was the war of the Northern States against the Confederacy, and for much the same reason. In this case, as in that, a far-reaching principle, to which the people are strongly attached, is at stake. The North fought for the Union. The States of the Northwest fought that the traffic of the Mississippi River might forever flow unfettered to the sea. We little realize with what passionate devotion the Russian people cherish the idea that their great country is to have unobstructed access to the Pacific Ocean. This aspiration has all along been more ardently cherished by the people than it has been by the Government. For two hundred years a

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large emigration of peasants has flowed from European Russia into the fertile region at the head of the Amur River east of Lake Baikal; and during the last fifty years a still larger emigration has flowed into the valley of the lower Amur and of the Ussuri River. Muravieff fifty years ago, and Alexieff at the present time, representing the interests of the people of that region, have been far more aggressive in securing Russian interests upon the Pacific Ocean than the home Government has been. This emigration of some 8,000,000 of people into Siberia has both given expression to, and kept alive, the loyalty of the mass of the Russian population to the general policy of the Government.

Nor is the Russian Government regarded by the masses of the Russian people with that aversion which is represented in the English and American press at the present time. The strength of the longing of the Slavic race for unity can be appreciated only by mingling with the people in the country districts or with the soldiers engaged in their country's defence. The Russian people have not forgotten, and cannot easily forget, the long centuries during which they were enslaved by Tartar hordes because of their petty jealousies of the numerous republics which their own country was divided, and with unerring instinct the people subordinate from destruction itself, from a disposition which would again expose them to successful attack from outside forces. United they may stand, divided they must fall. No other sorrow like that could come to the great Russian heart. It is the fact with the those who have had most contact to the core, Russian army, that it is loyal to the conception and that it is animated by a clear conception of the ideal ends for which Russia is fighting in the East. They are not fighting for foreign colonies, but for a compact empire which would maintain its position upon the Pacific Ocean for the good of the large population already upon its borders, and for that of the untold millions of Slavs who are longing to escape from the crowded conditions in the older portions of the country to find scope for development in the Far East. Russia, therefore, is not likely to conclude a peace such as Japan would at present propose, without risking another Titanic struggle for the sake of maintaining her honor and the very integrity of her empire. She might give up Mantchuria if Japan would be content with that. But will Japan be content with that? Probably not.

But, from a military point of view, the situation is not so desperate as the headlines of our papers would lead us to suppose. For, in the deteriorated condition of the Japanese fleet, the presence of a still larger Russian fleet, with all its possibilities, even though 2,000 miles away, will keep a large portion of the Japanese cruisers and men-of-war a good way from home, to watch the movements of the Russian admiral, while her own commerce will be more and more jeopardized as the season shall advance. From the headlines one would suppose that it was a holiday task for the Japanese to move from Tieling to Harbin and surround the Russian army; but the distance is 300 miles in a direct line, and it will take many weeks for the Japanese to establish a base in the interior from which they can safely advance long distances inland. In following the Russians, they find their way obstructed by the destruction of all bridges, so that, to make any use of the railroad, it must be practically built anew, and provided with rolling-stock. On the east, towards Kirin, the Russians are protected by a vast mountain system, which makes approach impossible, except along the very line of the Russian retreat. On the west, where small Japanese flanking movements are being made, the country grows more and more inhospitable toward the north, and the railroad connecting Harbin with Siberia is 500 miles distant, being 200 miles beyond the Nomi River. The Japanese will find it impossible to make any strong effective flanking movement on the west without attenuating their line of communication so much as to make such a movement extremely perilous.

It should be noted, also, that Harbin is not wholly dependent upon the railroad. A great fleet of steamers plies upon the Amur and Sungari Rivers, which will be employed this coming season to its utmost capacity. Hundreds of barges, loaded with soldiers and military supplies, will float down the Amur River, when navigation is opened, and their contents be distributed to Harbin and Vladivostok as occasion may require; so that, even if the Japanese should turn their attention to isolating Vladivostok by advancing from Possiet Bay, they will have two campaigns on hand, as they had during the siege of Port Arthur, with this disadvantage: that Vladivostok is reached by two railroads, and would not suffer greatly if the road to Harbin through a mountainous country were intercepted. Furthermore, the Japanese have against them during this coming campaign the intolerable addition of the roads over which they must haul their supplies for 300 or 400 miles just [illegible]

With such conditions favoring them, Russian statesmen will probably not be in haste to [illegible] peace. It is doubtful if the time has come for that true compromise which is considered properly respect the interests of both countries upon the Pacific. Japan is [illegible] to make another supreme effort [illegible] the Russian army, while the Russian army has so many chances in its favor [illegible] it has pressed its present advantages to the utmost.

Sometimes, however, it should also be said that [illegible] demonstrations in Russia respecting the internal conditions reflecting reports we are inclined to forget several things. In the first place, the strikes in Russia have seemed to be shorter-lived than those which we have had in our own country in times of financial depression. We seem to have forgotten that the slaughter of miners a few years ago in the anthracite region, the burning of the railroad [illegible] Pittsburgh, the vigorous [illegible] States troops in Chicago, and the reign of terror in the anthracite region again two years ago, and that in Colorado a year ago. We seem also to have forgotten the extent of the opposition to the war which showed itself in the riots in New York city in 1863, when Governor Seymour parleyed with the rioters until extreme measures had to be used, and more than 300 were shot down in the streets of New York, and more than 1,000 wounded; when Governor Andrew's first reply to the rioters who advanced upon the armory in Boston was a volley of grape-shot, which mowed down an unknown number of victims; when, in Ohio, fortified positions were established in the centre of the State by men who were determined to resist the draft; and, again, in 1864, when such prominent men as Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio and H. Winter Davis of Maryland, with a large following, were, from grievances of their own, violently assailing Lincoln's policy, and Generals Cochran and Frémont, with another large following, were heading a political campaign against him, and Horace Greeley was coquetting with the Confederate Government to bring peace at almost any price, and the platform of the great Democratic party was declaring the war a failure.

With such memories to confront us, we may well be modest in forming offhand judgments about the real sentiment of the Russian people with regard to the close of the present war. Russia is a great country, and if one will notice the sections from which the reports of disturbances come, he will see that these are relatively very limited in extent, and that for the most part they are brought about by conditions which are of local character. Propositions of peace from Japan unusually generous in tone might possibly meet with acquiescence, but, under existing conditions, propositions looking to the entire frustration of Russia's plans for the development of her empire upon the Pacific will be sure to unite the Russian people for the continuance of the war, just as similar unreasonable propositions from the Confederacy solidified the North and encouraged it to carry on the struggle to the end. G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

IRISH AFFAIRS.

DUBLIN, March 23, 1905.

The fall, resignation, or dismissal, as it is variously described, of Chief Secretary Wyndham is a principal topic of political interest in both England and Ireland. When taking office, Mr. Wyndham invited the aid and coöperation of Sir Antony MacDonnell, an Irishman, a Catholic, and, if not a Home Ruler, at least a strong Liberal, with sympathetic opinions for Ireland and an earnest desire to do what he could for his native country. MacDonnell had held several important governorships in India, and had refused the governorship of Bombay with a salary of £10,000 to take the under-secretaryship in Ireland, on the express terms that he was to have a free hand, and to be a colleague rather than a subordinate of the Chief Secretary. Reform of the land system, of education, of taxation, of the administrative and unrepresentative boards through which Ireland is governed, were the subjects to which he was to address his mind. With the knowledge and assent of both the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, MacDonnell conferred with the representatives of the landlords, the Catholic bishops, the obstructive Orange faction, the Nationalists—in fact, with all whose advice or opposition was likely to help or hinder reform. Prime Minister Balfour had been an assenter to the terms of MacDonnell's appointment and cognizant of his actions; but when MacDonnell's conduct was questioned in Parliament, both Prime Minister and Chief Secretary first denied, then

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equivocated, and finally said that they and the whole Cabinet had censured MacDonnell for his indefensible conduct.

"You may as well tell the truth before it is dragged out of you," said John Redmond at an early stage in these debates, and finally it was told and confirmed by a frank letter from the Lord Lieutenant. The Chief Secretary resigned, and has been absent from Parliament, seriously ill from derangement of his nerves, but the Cabinet censure of MacDonnell has not been withdrawn or explained. The Prime Minister, daily heckled in Parliament as to MacDonnell's present position and powers, continues to shuffle, or refuses to answer plain questions. The irreconcilable Ulster Orange faction, headed by Lord Londonderry, still call for MacDonnell's dismissal. In their eyes it is intolerable that a Catholic and a man suspected of Nationalist sympathies should hold an important post in the Irish administration. Many members of the official hierarchy would like to see MacDonnell ousted on any grounds. He is a determined, in fact an obstinate, man, and one of his duties was to have been coördination and reform of the many boards through which England governs Ireland. In India, MacDonnell is said to have been unpopular with many of his subordinates, for the very sufficient reason that he expected them to do the work they were paid for. If he applies such a principle to Irish officials, abolishes sinecures, and can get competency made a reason for official appointments, instead of having a "pull" at the Castle, he will have an army of place-holders and hunters against him.

With the best intentions it would be impossible for any one in MacDonnell's position to introduce efficiency into and effect any real economies in the present extravagant system of government in Ireland. There can be no real economy in administration until the people of Ireland have the raising and expenditure of taxes under their own control. At present no one wants economy, because, if money is saved in one direction, it is misspent in another. The revenue raised in Ireland goes into the English Exchequer, and funds expressly assigned for approved and useful purposes have been and are continually diverted from such purposes to other and objectionable ones in spite of the protests of the Irish members. As the money for Irish purposes, good or bad, useful or useless, is voted in Parliament at Westminster, English people generally, and some Irish, think every grant to Ireland is a gift to Ireland, an act of generosity; this, in spite of the report of the Royal Commission on the financial relations of England and Ireland that Ireland was contributing to the English Exchequer three millions sterling a year more than her fair and just proportion. Since that report was made in 1894, the excess of Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer has risen from three to five millions sterling. Every interest and industry in the country is neglected, education is starved, drainage, piers, harbors, transit facilities are neglected. Every national want and grievance is freely admitted by the English statesmen who rule us, but the stereotyped reply is, there is no money.

In finance, all that is asked by Irishmen is that, subject to a fair contribution to really imperial purposes, Ireland shall have the spending of her own revenue, which is now wasted in the most extravagant administration in Europe. Chief Secretaries may come or go, but the methods of Government remain unchanged. The Prime Minister has declared that it would be contrary to all principles of Unionism that the Irish people should have the management of their own affairs. He echoed the behests of a dozen Orange representatives, five of them being placeholders under the Government, and the remainder expectants of place, whose voices prevail over those of the eighty Nationalist members. Unofficial and unexpectant Unionists openly avow their approval of the Irish amendment to the address moved by John Redmond. This declared that the [illegible] in Ireland is a system of government of the Irish people, gives [illegible] no voice in the management of their own affairs, is ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest; and that it has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people."

Ireland is not really governed by the Chief Secretaries and Lord Lieutenants, who are mere birds of passage. Before they understand their environment, they return to their own country. During their short terms of office they are in the hands and under the influence of a small and noisy faction calling themselves "loyalists," and of the permanent officials mainly recruited from that faction. To these [illegible] able that the post of permanent Secretary should be held by [illegible], a suspected Home Ruler, and a [illegible] who has the reputation of being an [illegible] of jobbery. One of the charges made against Sir Antony MacDonnell is that, in the matter of public appointments, he is likely to favor the Catholics. No act of the kind can be alleged against him, unless it be the appointment of Mr. Finucane, one of the three Estates' Commissioners. Mr. Finucane was a distinguished Indian administrator, a well-known authority on [illegible] tenures, and, like Sir Antony, gave [illegible] brilliant prospects in India to take a [illegible] relatively inferior post in Ireland. He is not likely to become what is known in Ireland as a "tame Catholic."

It is the rule in India that, in making native official appointments, regard shall be had to the religion of the inhabitants. If a Mahommedan is appointed in a Hindu district, the person making such an appointment must give his reasons for the choice, and, similarly, if a Hindu official is appointed in a Mahommedan district. How is it in this respect in Ireland, where the Catholics constitute 74 per cent. of the population? The Lord Lieutenant must by law be a Protestant. There has never been a Catholic Chief Secretary. Of 60 privy councillors, 4 are Catholics; of 13 judges, 3 are Catholics; of 21 county court judges, 7 are Catholics; of 65 paid magistrates, 15 are Catholics; the head of the police is a Protestant, and out of 26 police county inspectors, 1 is a Catholic; of 170 district inspectors, 10 are Catholics. Out of 17 commissioners of national education, 5 are Catholics; of 60 land subcommissioners, 11 are Catholics. The same proportion prevails through all the better-paid appointments. In my (non-Catholic) opinion, Catholics do not sufficiently resent this very evident discrimination against their co-religionists, and the question is seldom raised except when the Ascendancy faction protest against Catholic appointments, as in MacDonnell's case.

Mr. Wyndham's resignation is to be regretted mainly because, being the minister responsible for the Land Act of 1903, he was interested in its successful operation. He was master of the art of evading awkward questions, and persistently refused to give information except when it suited him; but his successor has now the excuse to allege that he is not responsible for the Land Act or the expectations held out by the late Chief Secretary. Irish members of Parliament are entitled to know how the revenue of the country is spent, but the policy of the Irish Government [illegible] to disclose as little as they can, or to [illegible] necessary disclosures until the information is useless for the purposes of Parliamentary criticism. The Land Act provides that the commissioners administering it are to act under the general instructions of the Lord Lieutenant—in reality of the Chief Secretary and the law officers of the Crown. It is well known that instructions have been given from time to time in the shape of opinions by the law officers on disputable points, and direct injunctions from the Chief Secretary, who promised, when passing the act, that all such instructions should be laid before Parliament. After much evasion and equivocation it has at last been admitted that instructions have been given to the Estates Commissioners, but, on the feeble plea that the instructions were "informal," Government has refused to make them public. It promises to do so when reduced to a "formal" shape—that is, when they have revised them to suit their purpose, and when too late to be used by the Irish members who have one day only in the session for the discussion and criticism of the Land Commission vote, and that day is already past. A very undue proportion of precious Parliamentary time is spent in questions being asked by Irish members, who have no other means of ascertaining what the Government is doing with the Irish revenue, for the proper expenditure of which the Irish members are, after the Government, responsible to their constituents. But evasion, equivocation, and refusal to answer or give information to which the public is reasonably entitled have become more and more common under the Balfour and Wyndham régime.

In the absence of official information, it is believed, and is probably the case, that sales between landlords and tenants have been agreed on to the value of not less than twelve millions sterling in the last two years; but the money to complete these sales—that is, the advances on loan to the tenants repayable in sixty years—has not yet been provided by the Treasury, and the result is that sales only to the amount of four or five millions have been completed. Naturally, buyers and sellers are annoyed at and inconvenienced by the delay. Others are reluctant to enter into agreements whose fulfilment must be a matter of uncertainty. The financial clauses of the Land Act were intended to enhance prices in these sales, and have been in this respect even more successful than was anticipated. The money is raised by Government at 3, and is lent at 2¾ per cent., the loss being cast on

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the Irish taxpayers, who have also to provide a bonus of 12 per cent. on all purchase moneys. Sellers not only ask and get higher prices than have ever been prevalent, but in many cases compel acceptance of their terms by threats of eviction or proceedings to recover long-accrued arrears of rent. The term over which repayment is spread, sixty-nine to seventy years, is so long that buyers cannot feel the stimulus of ownership that they had under the earlier purchase acts; and where the prices are abnormally high, the ability to repay and the security for the loans are doubtful.

This year, in the poorer parts of the west and south, acute distress prevails, owing to failure of potato and corn crops last season. Harrying such tenants by eviction and processes for rent leaves them without stock and capital to work their farms; and in succeeding seasons, even if good, but little can be made out of the land in the circumstances of the periodical raids for rents which in the best of seasons can barely be realized from these poor farms.

No Irish reforms can be expected from the present Government, which is now like a tottering wall and a broken hedge. If the Liberals come in with a large majority independent of the Irish vote, and a radical Cabinet is formed, Irish reform may be crowded out by the pressure for English legislation. If the majority is dependent for office on the Irish vote, the House of Lords has to be reckoned with. Meanwhile, there is a growing conviction among all classes that the methods of government in Ireland are profoundly inefficient and unsatisfactory. George Jacob Holyoake expressed what is now felt by many Englishmen when, writing of his visit to New York in 1882, he said:

"Then I realized the fatuity of the anti-Irish policy which drives the ablest Irishmen into exile, and maintains a body of unappeasable enemies of England wherever they go. Then I saw what crazy statesmanship it was in the English to deny self-government to the Irish people, and spend ten millions a year to prevent them taking care of themselves."

AN IRISHMAN.

Correspondence.

THE HARVARD-TECHNOLOGY MERGER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter of "Harvard A.B." should be read with an understanding of the history of the situation. Thirty years ago President Eliot tried to obtain a union of the University and the Institute of Technology, when William Barton Rogers, the founder, was its president. A similar attempt met with a similar rejection during the administration of General Walker. Technology men are strongly persuaded that the real initiative came from the same direction in the present effort for a merger. Last summer nine-tenths of the faculty of the Institute were opposed to a union. A larger proportion of the Technology alumni were outspoken in opposition to the negotiations. They believe a great factor in any success it has attained during its forty years of poverty is that independence from the control of a body of scholarly, well-meaning gentlemen whose point of view is from the old as opposed to the "New Education." The Institute was founded with a high ideal. Its faculty and alumni believe that ideal and spirit worth more than the McKay millions. Five years ago the present president came to the school a stranger. A "Harvard Instructor" writes to the Boston *Herald* that under no conditions would he serve under such an exponent of "educational hustle." The activities of an expert politician of the McKinley school are no more harmonious with that spirit of earnest devotion to duty and laborious persistence after truth which has been the practice and become the tradition of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

TECHNOLOGY S. B.

BOSTON, April 1, 1905.

HOW TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On page 34 of a pamphlet entitled 'Proposed International Phonetic Conference' and issued by the College of Liberal Arts, Boston University, there is a reference to the report of "The Joint Committee on a Phonetic English Alphabet." It is this: "The report of the committee, in the preparation of which Prof. Hempl is said to have 'pulled the stroke oar,' appeared on September 1, 1904."

I feel it my duty to disclaim the honor implied. Had the statement been made as to Professor Calvin Thomas, it would have been correct. The report owes far more to him than to any other one man. At the time that it was being prepared, I was so situated that I could devote far less time and attention to the matter than it deserved.

GEORGE HEMPL.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, March 27, 1905.

WALPOLE'S LETTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your very interesting and suggestive review of Mrs. Paget Toynbee's new edition of the Letters of Horace Walpole, the following passage seems somewhat open to question:

"We hear from himself [Walpole] of an equally regrettable loss: 'On Mr. Chute's death his executor sent me a bundle of letters he had kept of mine for above thirty years. I took the trouble to read them over, and I bless my stars that they were as silly, insipid things as ever I don't desire to see again.' He must have destroyed them, for the two or three letters to Chute that exist in his correspondence belong to a much later period."

The first four volumes of Mrs. Paget-Toynbee's edition—all that I have access to at present—contain *eighteen* letters to Chute, of which the first was written in 1743, thirty-two years before Chute's death, the second in 1749, and all before 1760. Naturally, this does not disprove the statement of your reviewer; but it seems to me to throw some doubt upon it.

The interest of the point lies in the fact that it was so exactly like Walpole to decry his letters—and then keep them. We must not forget that this was the man, or the boy, who, when he was eighteen years old, wrote to Montagu: "You have made me a very unreasonable request, which I will answer with another as extraordinary: you desire I would burn your letters; *I desire you would keep mine.*"

GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.

WELLESLEY HILLS, MASS., March 28, 1905.

Notes.

'China in Law and Commerce,' by T. R. Jernigan; 'Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology,' by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings; and 'Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals,' by Prof. Frederick Morgan Davenport, are among the late spring and June issues of Macmillan Co.

Messrs. Harper announce 'The Courtship of a Careful Man,' short stories by E. S. Martin.

Fresh Oxford Press announcements are 'Specimens of the Elizabethan Drama from Lyly to Shirley (1580-1642),' edited by Prof. W. H. Williams; 'The Dream of the Rood,' an Old English poem attributed to Cynewulf, edited from the MS. in the chapter library of the Cathedral of Vercelli, by Prof. Albert S. Cook; 'The Administration of the Sacrament and Other Rites of the Armenian Church, etc.,' edited from the oldest MSS. by F. C. Conybeare; 'The East Syrian Epiphany Rites,' translated by the Rev. A. J. Maclean; 'The Faroes and Iceland,' by Nelson Annandale; and 'Origines Islandicæ,' edited by Profs. Vigfusson and York Powell.

N. W. Ayer & Son, Philadelphia, send us the twenty-fifth issue of their 'American Newspaper Annual,' which closely approaches 1,300 pages in bulk, albeit the County List has been dropped for the sake of compression. The economy thus made has been availed of for some useful lists, as of all continuous daily newspapers in the United States and Canada, arranged geographically; and of certain monthly and weekly publications of general circulation. Notoriously, this standard work subserves the secondary purpose of census and gazetteer, resulting in a convenient table of all places in the United States and Canada having at least 3,000 population, and in the numerous State maps.

Charles Mulford Robinson's excellent 'Modern Civic Art' has reached a second edition (Putnams), a fact indicative of widespread interest in its subject. So active is the movement for the improvement of our towns and cities that societies are everywhere springing up in support of it. Over twelve hundred local improvement societies are now to be found in the United States alone. This book is a systematic study of the city's plan and its development. An introduction treats the question of what is Civic Art, a question sufficiently abstract, although abstractness is by no means the distinctive character of the book. To deal generously with the main facts of the problem as presented, not in any particular city, yet as illustrated by examples from all great cities, is Mr. Robinson's aim, in which he succeeds by a definite attack upon the branches of the subject in detail. Thus, the city's focal points are first dealt with, as, its approach by water or by land, and its administrative or business centres. Afterward, residential sections, with the many ways of treating their streets and avenues, are considered, and in this connection the tenement problem does not escape examination. Discussion of comprehensive systems of planning, and the merits and demerits of several such systems, with a consideration of the vastly important subject of parks and parkways, closes the volume. The author's analysis is exhaustive, and his treatment is as com-

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plete and authoritative as our present knowledge of the subject makes possible.

'Super Flumina; or, Angling Observations of a Coarse Fisherman' (John Lane), is a book to irritate the curious rather than to please the well-informed or to instruct the ignorant. It irritates one to search in vain for some other motive than vanity for the parading of so many bits of recondite information by one so modest as to withhold his name. Tidbits of biographical material thrown in here and there tempt to an effort to supply the name, were it not for a lurking suspicion that this is just the kind of a rise the anonymous irritator is angling after. As the references to the persons who either did or did not say something about angling in the literature of the past is so remarkably comprehensive, it strikes us as an unpardonable deficiency that there is no mention of the apt figurative allusion to the art in the "Phormio" of Terence, or of the piscivorous appetite of Ergasilus in the "Captivi" of Plautus. Surely, the grumpy chapter "In Dispraise of the Latins" was based on insufficient reading. We miss, too, that brilliant sally of Randolph of Roanoke in characterization of a famous legislative colleague who, "like a rotten mackerel in the moonlight, shone and stank." These would be trifling omissions in any author who had before him a less ambitious idea than the putting of *all* the lore of his subject between two covers. We fear they are fatal in this case. A little Ohio village once elected its curbstone philosopher to the office of mayor. After setting up his first message to the Council, the village type-setter was heard to remark, "I don't like to see a man say everything he knows in one article." There was wisdom in the remark. The true angler wants but a moderate catch in his creel, whether the catch be ichthyological or literary in its makeup. But we do not wish to be altogether condemnatory. There is a great deal in this book that the learned angler (the appeal is to no other) may enjoy in spite of its overload of learning. The worst we can say of the author as an angler is that he sees no infraction of the ethics of true sportsmanship in the use of those murderous multiple gangs of hooks, which have no more place in the right-thinking angler's outfit than a cat-o'-nine-tails in a kindergarten.

'Through Town and Jungle,' by William H. Workman and Fanny B. Workman (Charles Scribner's Sons), is the record of a bicycle trip of fourteen thousand miles over the Indian plain. The two hundred and two illustrations light the way of the travellers through India, though the reader must regret the loss of the original plates, which would doubtless have filled this interesting volume with less conventional views. As it chances, the unfortunate wheelers lost their photographic all at the end of the journey, and the present liberal supply of pictures is a substitute for what should have been a unique photographic record. The travellers' purpose was to visit the artistic and architectural remains which lie scattered over India "from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and beyond." Besides a few thousand miles by rail, steamboat, tonga, tum-tum, bullock-cart, palki, and on foot, their cyclometers registered 14,000 miles awheel, a journey of "three cold weathers." The incidents and excitements, as well as the studious results, of this trip are well told. Occasionally the authors are delightfully naïve. On one occasion they found that a lordly patrician, though ready to help them in their extremity, took great care not to defile himself by touching anything belonging to the travelled barbarians. They record this (common) experience, and remark that it gives a Christian a queer sensation to find the feeling of superiority and contempt with which he is accustomed to regard the heathen returned in kind by these heathen. It "shows him that the sentiment in question is not a monopoly of the Christian." The descriptions are sufficiently realistic to remind one who has been over the same ground of much that has passed into semi-oblivion. It may comfort the intrepid but not uncomplaining authors to know that one traveller at least was worse off than they in the wretched bungalow near Ajanta. On objecting to rats and other more odorous vermin, he was gravely told that this was of no consequence, as the bungalow servants expected during the night to be visited by brigands and have their noses cut off.

Those contemplating a trip to India will find a convenient supplement to Murray's Handbook in E. B. Havell's 'Handbook to Agra and the Taj' (Longmans, Green & Co.). The author is the Principal at the Calcutta Government School of Art, and is well equipped for his task. A slight historical introduction is followed by a description, piece by piece, of buildings in and about Agra, including Sikandra and Fatehpur Sikri. The illustrations are chiefly the usual photographs of the Taj and other well-known objects. In discussing the exquisite marble screen-work, the author fails to note the resemblance between this Moslem form and the similar work on Rajput territory, as seen in the lovely lake-buildings at Oodeypore.

The new catalogue of 'Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,' by Mr. George H. Story, curator of paintings, is the first serious revision that the earlier hand-lists have undergone. The arrangement is alphabetical by masters, though a succinct tabulation of pictures by rooms is retained; in many cases the signatures of artists are reproduced, and there are upwards of fifty half-tone cuts of fair execution. In all these respects the new catalogue is an improvement on its predecessors. It would be pleasant to say that the execution of it was as good as the plan—in which we note nothing amiss except the absence of a list of illustrations—but, as a matter of fact, the revision is of the slightest. That the rectification of false attributions might go much further will be evident to all who know the collections in a scholarly way. Everywhere is complete absence of point of view. It is never quite certain whether a hand-list is being compiled or a scientific catalogue. The inserted illustrations have been chosen absolutely from the popular point of view—a defensible procedure, though one would welcome reproductions of some of the important canvases like the Moroni; and the inclusion of that unhappy possession of the museum, "The Storm," by Cot, is reprehensible on any principle. Reproductions after Turner, Hals (three capital examples), Van Dyck, Reynolds, and Manet bring masterpieces within reach of narrow purses. In fine, people generally will buy the new catalogue for the pictures, and scholars will still hopefully await a catalogue really worthy of this great museum.

A work of great historic interest has just issued from the Library of Congress, 'Copyright in Congress, 1789-1904.' In this octavo volume of 468 pages, the Register of Copyrights, Mr. Thorvald Solberg, has compacted "a bibliography and chronological record of all proceedings in Congress in relation to Copyright from April 15, 1789, to April 28, 1904"—and even to January 27, 1905, by taking advantage of the delay in printing. Thus, bills introduced in the last Congress and still pending when the work was given to the printer are recorded in full, with their accompanying reports. The index suggests many profitable lines of comparison. For instance, under the head, "Presidents' Messages," between Washington and Tyler there is a complete hiatus. With Cleveland, the Bern convention for international copyright looms up. The sociological revolution is revealed in the rubrics relating to petitions from various unions—pressmen's, lithographers', stereotypers', typographers', etc., etc. Names of scholars and institutions of learning figure in the same guise. Mr. Solberg enters an earnest plea for "one consistent, liberal, and adequate statute," in place of the present obscure, inefficient, and temporizing provisions. He asks for the appointment of a commission to prepare a draft, and something like this has been undertaken by the Senate Committee on Patents. Mr. Solberg's volume will be invaluable for such a reform.

The new volume of the Swedish book-trade bibliography, 'Svensk Bokkatalog,' is a quinquennial, covering the years 1896-1900, while its three nearest predecessors were decennial volumes. Its bulk is not much less than the volume for 1886-95, and it has taken nearly as long a time to prepare. Translations from foreign languages have always formed a large part of the output of the Swedish printing-press, and the period covered in the volume before us has been no exception to the rule. German, French, Russian, and English authors are well represented; not so the American. James Fenimore Cooper is still a favorite, to judge from the fact that during these five years seven of his works have been published, one of them in two editions; most of them seem to be abridgments for juvenile readers. There are two books by Bret Harte, four by Mark Twain, three by Beatrice Harraden, fourteen (!) by Archibald Clavering Gunther. Outside of fiction and purely devotional literature there is little from America: a volume of lectures by Phillips Brooks, a psychological monograph by Prof. William James, the authorized Life of Dwight L. Moody, James Freeman Clarke's lectures on Physical, Intellectual, Moral, and Mental Education. Among books relating to America we notice 'Canada as the Goal of Emigrants from Northern Europe,' by K. Zilliacus, a Finlander who spent some years during the early nineties on this continent; a sketch of a 'Vacation Trip to Montezuma's Land,' by the late A. H. Edgren; an anonymous Life of Henry George, 'The Prophet from San Francisco'; 'Cuba and its War for Liberty,' by J. af Klercker. The volume is published by the Swedish Publishers' Association in Stockholm; it is printed in clear type on good

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paper, but the bookbinder's work could hardly have been poorer.

The *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekwesen* recently published an interesting test it had made of the merits and demerits of the new *Gesamtkatalog* (in progress) of all the libraries in the kingdom of Prussia, the case selected being that of Ernst Moritz Arndt, a North German to the core. All his writings were published in North Germany, and hence should be found in Prussian libraries if anywhere. The new catalogue recorded 140 of his publications, but an inquiry by the *Zentralblatt* of 80 of the larger libraries in Southern Germany revealed the fact that the latter had no less than 62 of Arndt's publications not to be found in the Prussian collections, and of these only 24 could be secured by purchase. The journal in question declares that the new venture of the Prussian Government will be anything but satisfactory bibliographical work, and asks that it be expanded to a "Gesamtkatalog der deutschen Bibliotheken"—for the entire Empire—as being the only way to make the list complete. The technical and financial difficulties of such an undertaking would, in its opinion, be readily met by the willingness of the libraries and the different State Governments to coöperate.

"Hand-Atlas," as is well known, does not connote in German what it does in English; hence 'Meyer's Hand-Atlas' (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut; New York: Lemcke & Buechner) "in handlicher Form"—*i. e.*, in size corresponding to 'Meyer's Conversations-Lexikon'—was a great hit. Renewing itself like the Lexikon, it has now begun to appear in a third, enlarged edition, brought down to date. The first instalment comprises a new map of the inner city of Berlin, on a scale sufficient to show the public buildings and monuments (*Denkmal Beethoven, Mozart und Haydn*, etc.), and accompanied by an index; maps of world trade-routes, of Bavaria, of Bosnia and Montenegro, and (a veritable war-map) German Southwest Africa, with indication of the camps of the insurgent Hereros and of the scene of engagements. The maps are clear, even if the lettering is necessarily small, and the work commends itself by its adaptability to the ordinary shelf.

The way in which the public library is the pulse of the town is shown in the current annual report of the St. Louis Public Library. Its registration for 1904, we read, bears "striking evidence of the growth of the city towards the west. The three wards that have the largest registration lie entirely west of Grand Avenue, the city limit of twenty-eight years ago," and the ward having considerably the most readers "*begins* at Forty-third Street, three miles or more from the library, and a mile beyond the former western limit of the city." The distractions of the Exposition were felt, as was anticipated, in diminished gain in circulation; just as "Christmas occupations make December a lighter month than November," and school and season preparations make September "usually the lightest month of the year." Steady reading sets in only after January 1, with March for culmination. "How great the drop may be in April, depends on the weather. If St. Louis were in the latitude of St. Paul, at least ten, probably twenty, possibly thirty per cent. more books would be read."

The organization of a Classical Association for the Middle West and South, on the initiative of the classical department of the University of Missouri, is to be undertaken on the grounds of the University of Chicago on May 5 and 6. Those who desire to become members should address Prof. W. G. Manly, Columbia, Mo.

It was announced last month that the movement to have "Les Charmettes," the famous home, for a brief period, of J.-J. Rousseau, at Chambéry in Savoy, taken over by the State and preserved as a national monument, had prevailed. Already, though in private hands, to some extent a Rousseau museum, the place will become essentially such. The acquisition and the dedication we owe to the glamour thrown around "Les Charmettes" in the 'Confessions'—to what is called the idyll of the country-seat of Mme. de Warens. Yet, as M. François Mugnier flatly declares, with proof, in his 'Mme. de Warens et J.-J. Rousseau,' this idyll never existed. Rousseau misdated his stay at 'Les Charmettes,' and was really an occupant in exile, receiving rare visits from his mistress, who was pleased to have him out of the way, while she prosecuted her business and other enterprises with Wintzinried in Chambéry (1738-1740). When she and her latest paramour were ready for their own idyll, Rousseau was dislodged—to Lyons, to Paris. "Les Charmettes" deserves its nationalization, however, by reason of Rousseau's having employed his solitude there to make his first literary essays. There he composed his system of musical notation which was to be his passport to Paris and to fame as one of the foremost of French writers.

The celebration of the centenary of Schiller's death on May 9, 1905, lends a peculiar interest to the Biography of Johann Gottfried Seume, by Oscar Planer and Camillo Reissner, first published in 1898, and now issued in a new edition by Göschen in Leipzig. Seume was born January 29, 1763, and died June 13, 1810; his disposition was rather impetuous and versatile, and his life full of remarkable adventures. At first he studied theology in the University of Leipzig, but, unable to accept its teachings, he changed his purpose and went to Paris. Pressed into the Hessian service, he was forced to fight for the English against the American revolutionists; escaped, however, and returned to Germany, where he fell into the hands of Prussian recruiting officers, and was again obliged to serve as a common soldier in the war against the French revolutionists. He deserted twice, but was captured, most brutally treated, and would have been shot but for the intervention of influential persons who secured his release and finally his discharge. As the secretary of a Russian general in Warsaw, he became involved in the conflict which arose out of Kosciusko's armed opposition to the division of Poland, and was for some time a Polish prisoner. It seems a strange fatality that this man, whose ardent love of liberty finds full and fiery expression in the preface to his book, 'Mein Sommer im Jahre 1805,' an interesting record of travels from Petersburg and Moscow through Finland to Sweden, should have been compelled three times to combat the champions of freedom with whom he heartily sympathized. It was during this journey, while the guest of the distinguished philologist and historian, Christian Beck, at Petersburg, that Max Klinger rushed into the room with the sad tidings of Schiller's death. In the book just mentioned he also gives an account of an interesting conversation with the Czarina, who, like himself, was an enthusiastic admirer of the deecased poet, and desirous of obtaining from authentic sources information concerning his private life and personality. Seume was employed for some time as proofreader in Göschen's printing-office, whence Schiller's works issued.

—Dr. Waldstein sets forth briefly, but very effectively, in *Harper's*, the reasons for his movement to secure a thorough excavation of the site of Herculaneum. Here is the one presumably rich treasure-store of ancient art from which the hand of the destroyer, whether barbarian or religious fanatic, has ever been barred. The excavation of one villa, one hundred and fifty years ago, yielded treasures fairly comparable in value to all other treasures of Greek art above ground. It is known, of course, that many other wealthy Romans had their villas at Herculaneum. None may have equalled this one in its art collections, but it is unthinkable to any one who knows the habits of the wealthy nobles of the time that many of these villas were not richly supplied. Herculaneum was overwhelmed, not with lava, but with a torrent of mud, ashes, and cinders mingled with water. Hence the remarkable preservation of the objects found in the villa already mentioned, and hence the reasonable hope of an equal state of preservation in what is still to be laid bare. There is good reason to hope that many portions of the lost treasures of Greek and Roman literature, as well as of art, are here awaiting discovery. Dr. Waldstein's plan to have the work done under the direction of an international committee, with the King of Italy at its head, Italian laws to be scrupulously respected and all objects discovered to remain in a museum on the spot, is thoroughly sensible and practical. Surely there will be no long delay in securing the money required. Mr. Russell Sturgis, in *Scribner's*, also presents the matter, and urges the reasons for hearty coöperation with Dr. Waldstein in this great enterprise.

—Paternalism and nationalism receive consideration in Mr. Vanderlip's European studies in this month's *Scribner's*. In the German system of workingmen's insurance he finds many things to commend—primarily, the thorough honesty of its administration, and the small cost as compared with the administration of life-insurance funds in this country. Again, the insurance against accident aims not simply to indemnify when accident occurs, but to forestall its occurrence, and the aim is largely attained. Insurance against sickness, too, has led to such effective measures for its prevention that the effect on the general health has been highly beneficial. A better understanding between capital and labor Mr. Vanderlip regards as one of the growing results of the system. He also notes the use—shall we not rather call it the abuse?—of the idea of nationalism to pave the way for increasing tariff exactions, that funds may be available for increased military and naval expenditures. Richard Harding Davis, in a paper on "Kits and Outfits," illustrates admirably how the travelling journalist may turn even his

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deprivations into a profitable portion of his stock in trade. At so much per word the very lack of a bed may soon be made to buy a bed. We have just mentioned Mr. Sturgis's plea for aid for Dr. Waldstein's project to excavate the site of Herculaneum. There is also in this number a plea for another worthy cause of historical interest—the adequate financial support of the University of Virginia. Thomas Nelson Page presents its needs, closing very appropriately with the words of Jefferson himself: "It is from posterity we are to expect remuneration for the sacrifices we are making for this service, and I fear not the appeal."

—The fifth volume of Gaillard Hunt's 'Writings of James Madison' (Putnams) is still largely concerned with the history of the Constitution. That instrument of government was now before the people, and in convention in each State the people must accept or reject it. Madison was deeply interested in its fate, and his correspondence in the years 1787 and 1788 reflects this interest, with his anxieties for the issue. He kept in touch with the doubtful States, and held the confidence of the leading Federalists in the contests which were waged before and during these local meetings. He was liberal with the good intelligence he obtained, and kept Washington, Jefferson, and Randolph informed of the different phases of the situation. From no single writer can so much be learned of the manœuvres of the opposition in Virginia; and the writer's intimacy with men like Hamilton, Jay and King gives authority to his statements and breadth to his opinions. Mr. Hunt has included some of Madison's speeches in the Virginia convention and in the first Congress, with the idea of developing his constitutional doctrines. Madison was already falling more under the influence of Jefferson, and in a short time would be in opposition to the men with whom he stood in these years of constitution making. It is a disagreeable task to criticise a volume which shows so much care and intelligent arrangement, but there is evidence of some hasty proofreading, or perhaps of slovenly copying. *Time* is printed for *tide* on page 242; a sentence on page 249 is deprived of meaning by omitting the word *influenced*; and the name *Calonui* on page 101 must be intended for *Calonne*. Why did the editor omit the very important letter from Madison to G. Thompson on direct taxation, printed in the *Nation* (No. 1556)? Against such faults may be set the great improvement upon the editions of Gilpin and Rives, and the gain of closely following the text of the originals. The indication of cipher writing lends force and interest to the letters, and much has been added which the former editors thought proper to omit. The characterization of Moustier and the Marchioness of Brehan (p. 312) is new and valuable, although Madison later came to esteem both. Mr. Hunt has also done a service to investigators in printing so liberal extracts from letters addressed to Madison by his more important correspondents. They not only give additional information, but reveal the skill with which Madison used the facts in preparing his summaries for Jefferson or Washington. The editor accepts the latest distribution of the authorship of the "Federalist," without seeking to supply any fresh investigation. The notes are full and judicious.

—Those who were interested in 'Sally Wister's Journal' will welcome the charming volume by the same editor, Mr. Albert Cook Myers, entitled 'Hannah Logan's Courtship' (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach). This is a diary some thirty years older than that of Sally Wister, and written in the seventeen-forties by John Smith of Philadelphia, a prominent Friend and successful business man. The diary itself, in eight small volumes of MS., was presented to the Philadelphia Library by John Smith's grandson, the late John Jay Smith, who died in 1881. The interest of the journal centres about James Logan, who came over to Pennsylvania as William Penn's secretary in 1699 and became a conspicuous and honored citizen of the province. On the voyage "their ship was chased by an armed vessel, supposed to be an enemy. Their captain prepared for defence; but told Penn and his company of Quakers that he did not expect their assistance, and that they might retire into the cabin; which they did, except James Logan, who chose to stay upon deck, and was quartered to a gun. The supposed enemy proved a friend. . . . When the secretary went down to communicate the intelligence, Penn rebuked him severely for staying upon deck, . . . contrary to the principles of Friends. . . . This reprimand, being before all the company, piqued the secretary, who answered: 'I, being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down? But thee was willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship when thee thought there was danger.'" James Logan built the mansion of Stenton, in Germantown, in 1728, and it is still in the hands of the Logan family, a model of colonial architecture. There John Smith, "one of the Burlington Smiths," came to woo, riding over from his own plantation on the Delaware, or "waiting on" Hannah Logan from the Friends' Meeting, of which both were devoted members. The Diary is not only a charming and perfectly un-self-conscious record of a courtship of those days; it is worth much as a picture of the manners and daily life of the Quakers of "the Province." No life could be more simple or honorable than that of John Smith and his friends. There was a great deal of quiet tea-drinking and "waiting on the Agreeable Fair sex." A French privateer would now and again swoop down on one of the lover's ships that traded with the West Indies, and an epidemic of yellow fever in 1741 caused some anxiety. But to John Smith these occurrences only afforded "Room for Reflection on the Unstability of Terrestrial Affairs," and he turned to a comedy of Steele or a novel of Fielding (such was the light literature of the Friends), or to the society of "my Charmer," to whom he was married in 1748. All the eminent Philadelphians of the day were his friends, including Benjamin Franklin, from whom he used to buy books. Not the least attractive part of the book is the portraits of these colonial dignitaries, which are numerous and beautifully reproduced. There is a good index, and Mr. Myers has written a biographical footnote to every name of any importance. The whole volume is a treasure-house for the writer of colonial novels.

—Prof. Fullerton's 'System of Metaphysics' (Macmillan) exhibits a laudable avoidance of needless technicalities, and spreads itself out in leisurely fashion over more than six hundred pages of print. It produces the impression of having grown out of a college course in "systematic" philosophy; but such a course of lectures does not become a system of philosophy merely by being printed. To deserve this name, there is needed something like a distinctive method, together with a central doctrine ramifying into subsidiary inferences and cohering with them in an artistic whole; there is needed a fairly complete survey of the field of thought, and, as the outcome of the whole attempt, a fairly definite attitude towards the vital problems of life. But if any of these things are contained in Prof. Fullerton's book, he has not succeeded in rendering the fact apparent. As regards method, there is a plentiful lack of definitions, a reliance on what is vaguely called "analysis," and a habit of curtly dismissing inconvenient doctrines as repugnant to the common sense of the plain man. As regards doctrine, Prof. Fullerton must apparently be classed as a realist, and a parallelist (of sorts); but his convictions are nowhere stated in a concise and systematic way. Nor does the generous bulk of the volume afford any guarantee of completeness. Not all questions are discussed; nor in those which are, are the alternatives given fully and adequately. Thus, though a couple of hundred pages are spent on the relations of mind and body, there is no mention of James's important "transmission" theory, the chief objections to determinism are passed over in silence, and the arguments for freedom are stated with a surprising inadequacy. It is hard to believe that some of these defects would not have been remedied by the author himself if he had lengthened his work by providing his reader with an analysis of his argument; the critic may even venture to think that in consequence the book would have been shortened by more than half, and would have gained immensely in force and symmetry.

—'The Conquest of the Southwest,' by Cyrus Townsend Brady, is the sixth volume of Appletons' "Expansion of the Republic" series. Mr. Brady is already known as the author of numerous works, biographical and romantic-historical, but making little claim to excellence from the point of view of genuine scholarship. The present volume is a fair statement of the main events that led to the acquisition by the United States of Texas, New Mexico, and California. Mr. Brady says that he has ransacked a vast number of books and documents "published and unpublished," yet the references he promises to give us are too well-known and in the main easily accessible secondary accounts, particularly the Statesmen Series, which is characterized as of "great value," but not "widely known." There is obviously considerable printed material which the author has not used; and if he has examined unpublished documents, the result hardly justifies his having done so. Mr. Brady is most at home in personal and in military history, which together, indeed, make up the greater part of the volume. In dealing with the larger relations of his theme, he is sometimes naïf, often commonplace, and always without a very firm grasp of the subject. As often happens,

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Mr. Brady is occasionally right in spite of the evidence at his command, which, if properly used, would lead him astray. A case in point is his assertion that the Polk Administration deliberately set itself to acquire California, "if not by one means, then by another." Mr. Brady seems unaware that this question is important—that it is not a mere detail. He is nevertheless satisfied with an unverified statement in Elson's 'History of the United States,' confirmed by a letter from the latter to the effect that "Mr. Bancroft gave the information to Mr. Schouler long after the occurrence" (p. 147). The careful historian would reject the charge if it rested merely on this; but then the careful historian would also have read Polk's Diary.

—It is highly in place that a book with the title, 'The Shade of the Balkans' (London: David Nutt), should be of polyglottal and polynational origin and most multifarious contents. In the present, Pencho Slaveikoff, the Bulgarian poet; Mr. Henry Bernard, Dr. E. J. Dillon, and divers unnamed translators from Bulgarian into German, have had part. To say nothing of the many tongues which Mr. Dillon commands and quotes, there are passages also from a Catalan study of Bulgarian popular poetry. The contents are, first, an introduction by Mr. Bernard, telling with elaborated phrase and recondite allusion how he met Slaveikoff in Sofia and planned this book; secondly, Slaveikoff himself on the folk-song of the Bulgars, an excellent essay, enlivened by the discovery that they, too, have had their Chatterton and Macpherson, and that Carmen Sylva's 'Bard of the Dimbovitza' is for him "a fabrication of the Merry Wives of Bucharest." On this, the foreigner may safely hesitate to speak. The blood between the Rumanians and Bulgarians is far from good, and Slaveikoff was evidently pained by Mr. Bernard's queries, "Is there nothing more beautiful? Have you no songs like the Rumanians?" Third, then, come these Bulgarian folk-songs, one hundred and one in all. These are plainly what they are called; and if any modern hand has touched them, it has been as utterly in their own spirit as Scott may have refashioned the ballad of "Kinmont Willie." Then another hundred and one of proverbs, all to the point, especially the last, "Death speaks the truth" ("Sol nella morte è il vero," as the Italian poet has it). Finally, there is Dr. Dillon's contribution, an essay on the origin and language of the primitive Bulgars, which does not stand in very necessary relationship to the rest of the book. In it he follows Dr. Shishmanov, but does not reach any great lucidity in handling what is admittedly a most perplexed and uncertain subject. Undoubtedly the kernel of this book is the songs and Slaveikoff's introduction. They give a phase of Bulgaria and the Balkans hitherto lacking in English.

ANDREW D. WHITE.

Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White. With portraits. The Century Co. 1905. 2 vols. Pp. 601, 606.

The life of Andrew D. White has been long and brilliant, and his retrospections, now that he is a septuagenarian retired from official station, are a most interesting contribution to the recent history of this country. He has had two careers, academic and political, and in both has attained remarkable distinction. Born to be a teacher, with strong proclivities for public service, he became a lover of books and a servant of his fellow-men, and has woven into the web of his life two threads, the silver and the golden, Politics and Education. Happily interwoven, these threads are distinctly to be traced in the memoirs before us. In double allegiance to the cloister and the forum, he does not stand alone among Americans. Witherspoon served the College of New Jersey, and, while still its president, became one of the signers of the Declaration. John Quincy Adams was a professor in Harvard before he became President of the United States. Edward Everett's versatile services are well known. Lowell was called from the Smith professorship in Cambridge to the diplomatic service in Madrid and London. There are other college men, still active, whose careers are similar—President Angell, for example.

Let us follow each of the threads in the life of Mr. White. Before he went to college, in Syracuse, a focus of agitation, he was thoroughly imbued with the anti-slavery spirit; and the compromise measures of 1850, which were adopted while he was an undergraduate in Yale, filled him with the gravest apprehensions, noteworthy in one so young. At that time, his essays and speeches showed him to be a man of independent thought and strong convictions. It now appears from his confessions that the living teachings of Woolsey and Bacon did more for him than the dead instructions which he received from Tacitus and Thucydides. An acquaintance with the Democratic Governor of Connecticut, T. H. Seymour, took him to St. Petersburg, in 1853, as an attaché to the American legation, and although the political views of these two men were antagonistic and pronounced, their friendship was never broken. This foretaste of diplomatic life and of "practical" politics gave zest to Mr. White's historical studies during a prolonged residence in St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris. At the age of twenty-five he began his life-work as a professor of history in the University of Michigan. During the period leading up to the civil war, he was, of course, an earnest and outspoken defender of the Union. He rendered special services to his country by a vigorous answer to the letters of Dr. W. H. Russell, correspondent of the London *Times*.

While still holding a professorship in Ann Arbor, he was unexpectedly called into political service by his neighbors in Syracuse (where he had maintained a residence), and was sent to the Senate of New York at the age of thirty-two. During the four years in which he held this office, he came into close relations with Ezra Cornell, Charles J. Folger, Thurlow Weed, Horatio Seymour, Roscoe Conkling, and other well-known leaders. Almost as a matter of course, he was an unflinching Republican, but his services as a State senator were not those of a party leader. He was pre-eminently efficient in the incorporation of Cornell University, in helping on other educational and philanthropic measures, and in advancing municipal reforms in the city of New York. Then began the great work of his life. He was made president of Cornell University, and the perplexities of this post absorbed his energies for the next few years; but he did not consider that his position as the head of a university should preclude him from political or even from party activity. Here, as in many other ways, he broke away from the conservative traditions of New Haven, in which he had been trained. He wrote and made speeches and took part in conventions, and kept up an active correspondence with men in public life, so that in the State of New York he was a recognized political leader, though never an aspirant for office. With two important political measures he was identified—the promotion of civil-service reform (in which he stood hand-in-hand with George William Curtis and Carl Schurz), and opposition to fiat money and the greenback craze. His masterly and oft-repeated exposition of the ruinous results of French assignats was a persuasive object-lesson to all who heard him.

From his chair in Cornell, President Grant asked him to go, with Senator B. F. Wade and Dr. Samuel G. Howe, to San Domingo, to inquire into the conditions of that country. In view of the fiscal inquiries recently instituted by the Administration, this reconnaissance should again be brought to notice. The chapter devoted by Mr. White to his experiences as Commissioner throws light upon the controversy between Grant and Sumner and upon the differences between the youngest commissioner and his two experienced associates. They wished to make "recommendations," but White pointed out to them the fact that Congress had asked, not for recommendations, but for facts; and he stated that if the general report contained recommendations, he must be allowed to present one simply containing facts. The result was that his views prevailed, and the report of "facts" to which many experts made their contributions, is still an important geographical treatise.

Then came successively three diplomatic appointments, for each one of which the President of Cornell was particularly fitted—first, as Minister to Germany (at the call of President Hayes), afterwards to Russia (on the nomination of President Harrison), and finally as Ambassador to Germany (by the appointment of President McKinley). Two other opportunities were opened to him. He served on the Venezuelan Commission of President Cleveland, and he was the head of the American delegation to the famous Peace Conference at The Hague. He was urged to become a Representative in Congress, was often spoken of as a possible candidate for Governor, and came very near to succeeding Hamilton Fish as Secretary of State under Gen. Grant.

In the educational field, Mr. White began with what he regards as the happiest work of his life, the teaching of history in the University of Michigan. This chapter in his autobiography is a delightful record of the enthusiasm of a young teacher, studying hard all the while, using books as physicists use their apparatus, writing elaborate lectures on special topics, and stimulating his pupils to researches of their own upon obscure and controverted themes. The volumes before us do not include any chapter more characteristic of the author or more instructive to young professors than this in which his experience as a teacher is recorded.

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The creation of Cornell University at the close of the civil war could not have been foretold by anybody. A curious conjunction of stellar forces made it possible. To his great surprise, the young Senator in New York found himself the organizing head of the new foundation. Here, as in many other situations, he proved to be a path-breaker. Mr. White had two tendencies—one, an appreciation of the past, the lessons, the examples, the books of his inheritance; the other, a love of freedom, independence in thought, plans, methods. He builded better than he knew, and the extraordinary development of Cornell University, under his guidance, has influenced every subsequent university foundation (for example, in Baltimore, Chicago, and California), and has modified those that were antecedent. The difficulties which he mastered, and the obstacles of ignorance, bigotry, and prejudice which he overcame, will never again be encountered in this country. He has been known to laugh when others announced as accepted tenets, requiring no proof, the principles for which he had fought and bled. His earliest experiences gave him an inside view of the demoralizing influence of a small country college, nominally religious, but actually without discipline; and his life in New Haven, when Yale was beginning to cover the field of a university, showed him what advantages there might be in a new and independent foundation. To the history of the modern American universities no one has yet added a record so suggestive, so entertaining, and so inspiring as that which depicts the origin of Cornell, its perils, its purposes, its embarrassments and its success.

During the distraction of official responsibilities and his long residences abroad, Mr. White never lost control of his pen, and never forsook the companionship of his books. Thanks to a liberal inheritance, he collected a superb library, which, by his gift is now, for the most part, included in the University Library at Ithaca. It is rich in many departments of history, politics, literature, and biography, but especially in books pertaining to the history of the French Revolution, and in those which illustrate the progress of modern thought. A lecture which he gave on the conflicts between theology and science, entitled the "Warfare of Science," originally delivered in 1876, attracted much attention, and led the author to continued investigations in the same field, resulting in two extended volumes that have been widely read. Many uninformed and timid critics were alarmed by these books. It is interesting, therefore, to be reminded that so learned and so devout a man as President Woolsey, after hearing White's lecture, thoroughly supported White's positions and bade him godspeed.

Next to the author's services in Ithaca, his relations to the Hague Conference are memorable. It is true that the progress of international arbitration is slow, far slower than expected, but there can be no doubt that a great impulse was given to the peaceful solution of national controversies by this conference. White's speech, when the American Government caused a silver wreath to be placed on the grave of Grotius at Delft, and all the incidents of that occasion, mark an epoch never to be forgotten in the annals of International Law.

Mr. White's success has been largely due to his unselfish and life-long devotion to the service of his fellow-men. Free from ambition to hold public office, he has never declined the duties imposed upon him; free from the pecuniary limitations which fetter many scholars, and sometimes lead them to accept positions for the sake of the loaves and fishes, he has used all that he possessed—books, income, stations, opportunities, influence—for the good of others. It is not a surprise to those who know him best that he closes his chapter on his religious opinions with the words of "the first and great commandment, and the second which is like unto it." An unusual gentleness of disposition inherited from his mother, and an equal firmness of conviction inherited from his father, have made Mr. White serviceable as a supporter, and acceptable as a friend in all the steps of his career. He could be controversial without bitterness, critical without censure, and resolute without harshness. Now and then he shows his temper, and reveals the powers of satire which were usually controlled; here and there, a few sentences might well be omitted from his narrative. It should not be forgotten that the author's memoirs were prepared chiefly for his children and grandchildren, and that in this familiar narrative he has inserted some of his more elaborate essays.

Even to those who know the author well, and to whom the incidents of his career have become familiar by the charming facility of his table-talk, these volumes will be a surprise. The number of noteworthy characters whom he has met, his accurate remembrance of their conversations, and his kindly appreciation of their best qualities, give an unexpected charm and variety to his reminiscences. Everywhere it is the public servant, and not the private friend, that he portrays. However absorbed by official stations, it is evident that men of science, letters and art are among his dearest friends. The character sketches which are found in these pages are often miniatures—like those of the Presidents that he knew—sometimes only outlines; but now and then he draws a character with a free hand; Pobiedonostzeff is one example; the Emperor William another, and far more pleasing, portrait; Bismarck is very good. The countrymen of Franklin have often taken to autobiography. By the side of the recent contributions of Hoar, Stillman, Newcomb, Dwight, Le Conte, Villard, and Conway, the autobiography of White will hold an honored place.

A GEOGRAPHICAL APOCALYPSE.

As to one who stands at Darjeeling may suddenly appear Mt. Everest and as suddenly disappear again more thickly girt with clouds, so the veiled city of Tibet has suddenly shown itself and disappeared again. According to the judgment of the two capable witnesses who have recently described the Younghusband expedition, Lhasa has already become more impenetrable than ever; the veil has been withdrawn only to be wrapped more closely about the forbidden city. This is probably true, at least until it becomes necessary to send another expedition into Tibet to secure the payment of the indemnity of £500,000, which the inhabitants are expected to contribute toward the expenses of the last British raid (or "mission," in diplomatic language); but until then a peculiar value will attach to the records of these two witnesses, Edmund Candler, who has just published 'The Unveiling of Lhasa' (London: Edward Arnold; New York: Longmans, Green & Co.), and Perceval Landon, who simultaneously presents us with his own rendering of the same theme under the title 'The Opening of Tibet,' the American edition of which (Doubleday, Page & Co.) is dedicated to W. W. Rockhill, America's "foremost representative in the field of Tibetan explorations." These two writers were the correspondents of the *Daily Mail* and the London *Times* respectively, and the present volumes are the outcome of their share in the mission to Lhasa. As between the two, one cannot help feeling great sympathy with Mr. Candler, who got knocked in the head in the first bout with the Tibetans and had to call upon a friend, Henry Newman, Reuter's correspondent, to write for him two chapters of his description—which work, admirably as it has been performed, the author would doubtless have preferred to do himself. He was, however, "in at the death," and gives a vivid description of the earlier and closing scenes of the campaign. There is in his pages a breezy personal element, which lends the charm of reality to all he sees and does. His descriptions are brief, and his summing up of the results of the mission clear and forcible.

Perceval Landon's book is much more ambitious in its scope. The author intimates that he hopes to make of it the standard work on Tibet, or, as he modestly puts it, "a work of Tibetan reference," and the work is conceived on broader lines, historically and philosophically, than the rival volume of Mr. Candler. Thus, we have a special chapter on "Religion; Manners and Customs; Art," another on "Lamaism," a very exhaustive description of the Potala, and a long historical introduction, "Former Explorations of Tibet"; all of these subjects being treated by Mr. Candler as well, but more briefly and skimmingly, if the expression do not say too much (for what Mr. Candler has done is well done). Not to make invidious or at least misleading comparisons, one may say that the two books will please different readers. The leisurely reader will revel in Landon's beautiful book; the rapid reader will enjoy Mr. Candler's stirring tale. Both volumes are profusely illustrated; Mr. Candler's has a map, which ought to have a counterpart in Mr. Landon's; and neither has an index!

The same ground covered by both correspondents will not call for separate analyses, but the combined picture offers much that is worthy of regard. What caused the unveiling of Lhasa; who is responsible for the brutal slaughter of the brave and simple peasants? "They were brave and simple," says Candler (p. 217), and "here was all the brutality of war and none of its glory and incentive." Further, what good has been accomplished and what is the present state of affairs? These will be the first questions the reader of either history will want to have answered, and the answer is practically the same in both. The unveiling of Lhasa was due to the fact that the British were afraid of Russian influence in Tibet. They took advantage of the truculent attitude of the Tibetans, who had a mind to attend to their own affairs, and "accepted

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the chip" which the Dalai Lama dared them to knock off his shoulder. The real reason and the alleged reason for the mission were quite different. Failure to keep the terms of a treaty which Tibet had declared was not properly drawn, interference with trade, invasion of the border—these were the reasons given; fear of Russia was the reason not given. The terms which Col. Younghusband was instructed to demand from the Tibetans included the demand that no concession for railways should be granted without British consent, and that "foreign political influence should be totally excluded from Tibet." What Russia had effected by means of secret embassies and the political intrigue of the Russian Lama Dorjieff (a Mongolian by birth, a Russian by nationality) was to be undone, and England was to accomplish by violence what Russia had attempted by stealth. Mr. Landon frankly says that "it is a deplorable thing" that India has no Dorjieffs: "If these men were to be found, I fancy we should have used them willingly long ago." As it was, not being able to counteract Russian diplomacy, England resorted to "excuses for interference." Certain "insults" had to serve as a *casus belli*. But (to cite again from the *Times* correspondent, p. 26), "these insults would never have given rise to the dispatch of an expedition if the Tibetans had not added injury to them by their dalliance with Russia." So Mr. Candler (p. 16): "We had all the best cards in our hands. . . . We could go to Lhasa, apparently without a thought of Russia, and yet undo all the effect of scheming there. . . . Needless to say, the discovery of Russian designs was the real and prime cause. [Other things] were convenient as ostensible motives."

It is a great pity that governments cannot or will not be as frank as this. The expedition would have been much less expensive in life and money if England had simply said, "We intend to dictate to you and eventually to place a Resident in Lhasa." Grant that England's first duty to India is to see that Russia is ousted from Lhasa and kept out: her way of doing it was clumsy and entailed much needless slaughter. There would have been less slaughter in the end if she had marched straight to Lhasa and stayed there without any humbug about insults. Incidentally, the slaughter seems, from the descriptions, to have been unnecessary in many cases. A man running away is wounded; his "brave and simple" comrade stops to pick him up; both are past fighting, fleeing like sheep; and both are shot down. The rule was to kill all those who ran away as well as those who continued to fight. Another scene: Fifty Tibetans could easily have escaped, "but they chose a braver part." Armed only with swords, they stood in a courtyard huddled together. But the Gurkhas, their superiors in arms and numbers, emptied their magazines into the mob. "Within a minute all the fifty were either dead or mortally wounded." Even the English sightseer says it was "pitiable." In the very first action of this sanguinary mission, the Tibetans appear to have been slaughtered needlessly after all resistance was over.

To turn to more cheerful themes, Russia has been set aside. China's influence in Lhasa is reduced to nothing. The Tibetans have been left to their own devices, provided they will not interfere with British plans. Amusing incidents enliven the scene. Plenary indulgence was granted some of the Tibetan troops for all sins past and future if they would take the field against the English. This they did; but then they returned and looted the Dalai Lama's own temples, secure in his divine forgiveness for all sins. Negotiations result only in endless talk. The Lama's highest university degree is Rabsjampa, "verbally overflowing without end," as literally translated. Hence to quit talking is a sign of inferior mental capacity; to disgrace, as it were, the honored degree. A reincarnation of Queen Victoria is Paldenlhamo, "a dark-blue lady with three eyes." If one drinks tea native fashion, here is the receipt: Churn boiling water, tea-leaves, and a large lump of salt together; when well churned, add a pound of rancid butter; churn one minute more, and serve as soup.

Curious, if not amusing, are *white* rainbows; rivers which, through an optical delusion, run up-hill; and a few linguistic facts. Among the last, some metaphors are noteworthy. To "awaken" is "murder sleep"; "bribery" is "a secret push." To express "height" the Tibetan says "high-low"; "temperature" is "cold-warm," etc. Curious, too, is the record of the way in which the Lama in Kublai Khan's day got the better of the Christian. Kublai Khan was a liberal monarch. He desired truth irrespective of creed. The test was a miracle. Christian and Buddhist were to try to get a wine-cup to rise of itself to the Emperor's lips. The Christians accepted the gage of battle, and their failure to prove themselves equal to the Lamas in jugglery "put the coping-stone to the strength of Buddhism in Central Asia."

There have been many travellers in Tibet, more in the past than is usually supposed; but none has opened a richer store of knowledge than has Mr. Landon in the descriptive parts of his work. The political control, centred in the Church, is admirably described in Appendix C by Captain W. F. T. O'Connor. There is an assembly of national character, four ministers, and a chief Lama, who rarely survives. The present Dalai Lama succeeded in escaping the usual fate, but he has now disappeared. Usually the regent sees to it that the Dalai Lama disappears much earlier. The descriptions of scenery in both these volumes are a revelation. They must be read if one would appreciate what richness of color and wealth of vegetation are to be found on the road to the "Plain of Milk," a name, by the way, suggestive of the Hindu "Sea of Milk," across which was to be found the quasi-monotheism of later Hinduism. In Lhasa itself there are two things to be admired—the outside of the Potala and the inside of the Cathedral. All else is filth, vermin, and ignorance. Typically barbaric, yet containing rather the rotting core of Buddhism than the rough germ of newer life, Lhasa represents the result of submerging a lofty but selfish creed in a sea of superstition. The environment was too much for the transplanted growth. It did not die, but it became transformed into devil-worship.

FATHER DE SMET.

Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873. By Hiram Martin Chittenden, Major Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and Alfred Talbot Richardson. New York: Francis P. Harper. 1905. In four volumes. With sixteen full-page illustrations and one map.

This work bears every mark of having been, on the part of the authors and compilers, a labor of love, in which they have been ably seconded by the publisher. The four handsome volumes are paged consecutively, and there is a good index. The illustrations are very well chosen, and the map showing the routes of travel of the celebrated missionary is fully adequate and in harmony with the plates.

To one who never heard of Father De Smet, it might seem strange that so many bulky volumes could be profitably filled with the biography and writings of a simple Catholic priest who devoted his life to the irksome task of doing good to Indians. Perusal, however, will very soon convince him that the subject is well worth the labor and display. Father De Smet is, if not perhaps the grandest, at all events one of the grandest, figures among Catholic missionaries of the nineteenth century, and may fitly be ranked among the most conspicuous Catholic teachers to primitive peoples. To compare him with the apostles of the Indies or of China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would be out of place, although he was their equal in honest zeal as well as in endurance, but the respective fields of labor were totally distinct. Much less justifiable is a comparison with Las Casas, such as was made in the obituary address (volume iv., page 1597). To call the injudicious and extravagant, constantly storming and frequently almost raving zealot a "Father De Smet" of early times, is a sorry compliment to the memory of the latter. Every religious fraternity has in a measure a field of its own and methods of its own, and to assign superiority to any is as impossible, from a general point of view, as it is impossible to compare the labors of St. Francis Xavier in eastern Asia with those of the early Dominicans in Guatemala, or those of the Franciscans in northern Mexico. To find a parallel to Father De Smet's labors among the North American Indians one must turn to the Jesuit missions in the Amazon region, where the career of Father Samuel Fritz, for example, might offer some analogy; and yet the times were so different that even in this case the parallel is not fully justified. Perhaps the most concise and most characteristic appreciation of Father De Smet's work, apart from its religious significance, is given in the passport issued to him by General Sherman on April 20, 1866: "He has always been noted for his strict fidelity to the interests of our Government, for indefatigable industry, and an enthusiastic love for the Indians under his charge." The narrative of Major Crittenden and Mr. Taylor, and the many writtings of Father De Smet published by them, abundantly prove the truth of General Sherman's testimony.

It is only after one has perused his voluminous correspondence that one becomes really conscious of the importance of Father De Smet in and for his time. That he stood very high in his own church was most natural; he was, during his lifetime, its foremost missionary. Significant of this was the manner in which he was received by Pope Gregory, who cast aside the time-honored

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etiquette for the sake of displaying just admiration for the great missionary presented to him. Twice the honors of an episcopal see were sought to be thrust upon him, and he not only refused, but forestalled the prospective nomination by a definitive reminder that he would never accept any other position than that of an itinerant preacher and teacher to the least prepossessing of his species, under conditions full of danger. Never, it may safely be asserted, did he seek prominence. Modest and unassuming, mindful of his task, but seldom of himself, Father De Smet became, step by step and unconsciously, an important personage. To the Government of this country he was invaluable in its relations with the aborigines. As his letters abundantly prove, he was deeply and sincerely attached to this country, and did in its service what his position and primary obligations would humanely allow him to perform. Nobody more than he deplored the civil war and sympathized with the attempts to preserve the Union. Through his long career among the Western Indians, during which he mostly played the part of a peacemaker, he acquired the confidence of the Government to such a degree that he was at one time entrusted with an important confidential mission abroad. It is undeniable that the Catholic missions in Oregon were the most successful. Others rather helped the settlement of the country by the whites, irrespective of the future of the Indian. Says a Protestant missionary of distinction (p. 27): "I have no doubt our greatest work is to be to aid the white settlement of this country and help to found its religious institutions." The aim of Catholic missions has always been to aid the Indian and lead him on the path to civilization as a helpmate to the whites. But what was predicted by Dr. Whitman for the Oregon missions—"it cannot be hoped that time will be allowed to mature the work of Christianization or civilization before white settlers will demand the soil and the removal of both the Indians and the missions"—has come to pass. Catholic missions, like those founded by De Smet, have lasted the longer, but are equally doomed.

The Jesuit, when he seems to be fitted for mission work, receives as much of what may be called liberal instruction as the scope of seminarial teaching will permit. Hence a knowledge of the branches of natural history, physics, chemistry, etc., forms part of his outfit. If his inclinations lead him to enter deeper into the study of any of these branches, he is welcome to do so, provided he does not neglect his sacerdotal duties. Father De Smet enjoyed a general preparation, but was not drawn towards any specialization. From his letters we gather that he had a very lively perception of natural beauty; he frequently refers to the aspects of nature in the form of vivid general pictures—dissection of the elements of the picture was not his forte. To him the paramount study was that of man, to whose moral improvement he devoted himself; hence what science mostly reaps from his few books and from his extensive correspondence is much information of an ethnographic nature concerning the tribes of the Western plains and adjacent regions. In many respects this falls below that nowadays obtainable. In respect to detail of ceremonies, for instance, it has not the elaborateness of material secured with the aid of funds specially given for the purpose, of costly pictorial apparatus and other adequate equipment. In his time, and with his official duties, observation of the Indian entailed much greater hardships and was much more difficult. Hence his data are comparatively brief, but they have the merit of dating from a period when contact with the whites had not become so frequent. In his narrative of the Pottowatomi traditions, for example, we recognize a leaning towards finding traces of Biblical lore in Indian folk-tales, and explaining them as survivals from some ancient and very remote connection with the Old World. This leaning is common to all Catholic missionaries, from the time of Columbus down. Still, Father De Smet sees further, and concedes to the teachings of modern missions its proper influence on Indian tradition. On page 1084 we find the remarkable statement (Letter to the Provincial of the Jesuits, 1847): "If the early Jesuits or other Christian travellers had never been among these people, or if the Indians had never visited a Christian community, one might infer that they are in some sort direct descendants of Noah, and that they have preserved the tradition of the universal deluge, although obscured, altered and become fabulous in the long succession of ages." There is in this a recognition of the modifications which Indian lore so easily undergoes as soon as vivid impressions take hold of the Indian mind. Fragments of Christian teachings (particularly cosmologic and historic tales) are quickly absorbed by the Indian, and assimilated to his own mythology so as to become sometimes almost indistinguishable from the rest of his folk-tales.

On page 1004 there is a definition of the so-called "Great Spirit" that should not be overlooked:

"All these Indians believe in the existence of a Great Spirit, the Creator of all things, and this appears to be an inherent, original, and inborn idea. They do not, however, embody it; it is a spirit. The name of this spirit is Wakan Tankah or Great Medicine. The word 'medicine' in this case has no reference to the use of drugs, but means all that is incomprehensible, supernatural, all-powerful, everything that cannot be explained by ordinary means, or that is above their comprehension. They think this great medicine pervades all air, earth, and sky; that it is omnipresent, omnipotent, but subject to be changed and enlisted on their side in any undertaking if the proper ceremonies and sacrifices are made, etc., etc."

This definition hardly needs comment, except that it admirably corresponds to the substance of Indian creed and belief all over the American continent.

Abundant material regarding the manners and customs of the Indians of the Northwest prior to 1873, the date of Father De Smet's death, is disseminated through these volumes. To refer to it in anything like detail is, of course, out of the question. However it may compare with recent investigations, the earnest and conscientious student will always consult with profit the records of the experience and observations of our missionary. That he was not an inconsiderate admirer of the Indians, an Indian worshipper, is perfectly clear from his writings. He foresaw and foretold their inevitable fate within the United States. This only served to animate him to do his utmost for their welfare. In conclusion, we strongly recommend this valuable work to all who are interested in the history of the North American West and in its aborigines. Also, and particularly, to those interested in missions. Some minor flaws might be pointed out, but these vanish when the general excellence is considered.

The Reminiscences of Sir Henry Hawkins, Baron Brampton. Edited by Richard Harris, K.C. With portraits. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1904.

These reminiscences of a celebrated lawyer and judge are open to the charge of garrulity, and have often the air of detached parts of conversations; the editor, indeed, says explicitly that they are "the outcome of many conversations," as well as of "innumerable manuscript notes." They are full of stories which, told *viva voce*, with all of "Orkins'" vivacity and humor, were no doubt very good, but which in a literary form often seem to lose their point, or become a little flat. This makes the book rather long, and detracts from the main interest of the narrative, which lies in the picture of the professional character and success of a remarkable man. It is a book rather for lawyers than for laymen, and contains some really valuable reflections on the administration of the criminal law.

Sir Henry Hawkins had the reputation of being the sharpest man of his time at the criminal bar, and afterwards the severest judge on the criminal bench. It was he who finished the career of the Tichborne claimant, and he will probably be longer remembered for his management of the prosecution for perjury of that impostor than for anything else in his career. An account of the trial is given in volume i., chapters xxxv. and xxxvi., with an excellent specimen of his cross-examination, and an amusing, even if invented, criticism by the Claimant himself, who is reported to have said, on seeing Toole, the comedian, come into court: "There's Toole, come to learn actin' from 'Arry Orkins." Hawkins, like every great advocate, was also an actor.

As a cross-examiner, he had the very highest skill. Keen, with a keenness far above that of a born rogue, he saw through all the disguises of rogues, and exposed the truth or falsehood behind, without the least touch of the cross-examiner's favorite failing—a tendency to self-parade. As an example, we may refer to the cross-examination of Bogle in the Tichborne case, on the subject of the tattoo-marks on Roger Tichborne's arm, and the "punctual flea."

If Sir Henry Hawkins had not been a great lawyer, his talents would have led him into the sporting or theatrical world. He loved a fight (in his early days he was amateur of the P. R.), a dog, a horse, a bet, and the stage, and in these pages we like him none the less for his confession of it. A character of first importance in the book is his fox-terrier, "Jack," who shared the bench with him. From such beginnings Hawkins developed into a judge who was a terror to evil-doers. He had not for half a life-time unmasked pretence in the witness-box for nothing; he continued to do it on the bench. But it is evidently a mistake to suppose that he was one of the old line of harsh judges. He was distinctly of an opposite and modern type. He gives an account of his system

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of measuring the punishment so as to fit all the circumstances of a conviction, which distinctly shows him a humane and considerate man:

"The course I adopted in practice was this: My first care was never to pass any sentence inconsistent with any other sentence passed under similar circumstances for another though similar offence. Then I proceeded to fix in my own mind what ought to be the outside sentence that should be awarded for that particular offence had it stood alone; and from that I deducted every circumstance of mitigation, provocation, etc.; the balance representing the sentence I finally awarded."

How many judges in any country are as careful as this? As a matter of fact, his humanity led to a suspicion that he sometimes warped the law to suit a hard case. A French parody of the procedure of "Le Juge Hawkins" (no doubt written in England, but published in France) represents him as letting off a man who has stolen a loaf to save himself and his family from starvation, and as sending the baker who brought the charge to prison for a day, under "une loi édictée par la reine Élisabeth," for having left his shop for the purpose.

For innumerable anecdotes of uneven merit, we must refer the reader to the book itself. The first volume prejudices the reader against the *raconteur;* the second reconciles him to a very poor and colloquial method, and leaves him with an impression of a different sort—a great liking for the subject of the reminiscences, and a regret that they could not have been better revised. But even this may be a mistake. A better revision might have effaced some of the character. Baron Brampton (a name by which he will never be remembered) was essentially a self-made man, who rose by sheer cleverness and character, without being helped forward by adventitious aids. His book is a self-made book, and must not be judged as a literary performance. The editor evidently preferred to leave it, as far as possible, as it came to his hands.

The Story of the Congo Free State: Social, Political, and Economic Aspects of the Belgian System of Government in Central Africa. By Henry Wellington Wack. With 125 Illustrations and Maps. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xv., 634, 8vo.

This is not so much a history of the Free State (as the title might seem to imply), as a defence of its government against the charges of cruelty to the natives and denial of freedom of trade in the Basin of the Congo. The author states that a sense of duty moved him to write his book, the materials of which he obtained in the archives of the administration at Brussels, but for which he holds himself entirely responsible. The historical part consists of a brief sketch of the foundation of the State, the international conferences at which it was recognized and its powers and duties defined, and the campaigns for the suppression of the slave-trade. The methods of administration and the various civilizing measures instituted are described at some length. The latter half of the volume contains the statement of the Belgian case, together with a considerable number of official documents bearing upon it. The charge of administrative cruelty to the natives is denied, though individual cases of maltreatment are acknowledged, and considerable space is given to the favorable testimony of travellers and missionaries as to the contentment of the Congolese and their progress in civilization. The right of the Government to appropriate unoccupied land and to restrict the sale of its natural products to its own agents, and to tax the natives, is affirmed as one exercised by all the Powers having colonial possessions.

Mr. Wack's statement of the Belgian case would have made a better impression if, in his frequent references to those who disagree with him, he had used less discourteous language. The efforts of the Aborigines' Protective Society and others interested in the natives' welfare to draw attention to their condition is styled a "campaign of calumny" (p. 96) and "the organized campaign of slander" (p. 157). Again, he refers to "the Liverpool and Boston custom of attributing villainy to the officers of the Congo State Government" (p. 341). He believes that the action of the British Government in taking official notice of these charges was due to the influence of a few Liverpool rubber merchants, and he hints at a remote desire to annex the Congo territory to England's East African possessions. Apparently he wholly ignores the fact that, by the express terms of the General Act of the Berlin Conference of 1885, the signatory Powers "*bind* themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the Slave Trade" (p. 534). He also seems to endorse the extraordinary position taken by the Free State Government in regard to the statements of Protestant missionaries. In the official answer to the report of the British consul, Mr. Casement, it is asserted that, as he was assisted by the missionaries, travelling on their steamer, and frequently being their guest, "it was inevitable that he should be considered by the native as the antagonist of the established authorities" (p. 595).

The numerous references to the State as a colonizing success almost unequalled either show great ignorance of modern colonial history or are simply to be taken as the hyperbole of the advocate. Mr. Wack gives tables of statistics to show the prosperity, but he does not draw attention to the fact that the exports are almost exclusively of natural products. The rubber and ivory exported in 1903 were valued at $12,000,000, the cultivated products at less than $70,000; the total value being $12,791,080. These figures do not say much for the development in eighteen years of a vast region admirably adapted for the cultivation of cotton, cocoa, coffee, etc. The contention that the Free State Government only followed the example of all the Powers having colonial possessions in appropriating unoccupied land is correct, but we doubt if any Power, after declaring immense tracts to be public domain, deprived the natives of the right of selling its native products to any but Government agents and at a fixed price, and punished foreign traders for buying from the natives. Extravagant language is used in regard to the righteous motives of King Leopold; his one aim being to suppress the slave trade and to civilize the African. Much is said of the contributions from his private funds to meet the expenses of the State, but nothing of his receipts as a shareholder in some of the concessionary rubber companies. One of these is reported to have paid a dividend of 90 per cent. in 1901, and another repaid in two years the amount of capital invested.

The most interesting as well as the most trustworthy feature of the book is its profuse photographic illustration. The plates show the great progress made in building Government stations, churches, and schools. There is even a public library at Matadi, the terminus of the railway. Very few, however, indicate any general improvement in the native mode of life. The African is still the nude gatherer of rubber. Mr. Wack owes an apology to the Belgian Minister to this country, Baron Moncheur, for the assertion (on p. 389) that, because the Belgian reply to the Liverpool memorial sent to President Roosevelt on October 3, 1904, did not receive the same attention in the press as the anti-Congolese resolutions of the Boston Peace Conference, he was "quite indifferent to that campaign of publicity which the enemies of the Congo Free State began in England and now continue in America." The Baron published a statement of the Belgian case in the *North American Review* for October, 1904.

British Economics in 1904. By W. R. Lawson. W. Blackwood & Sons.

Were British Economics fairly represented in this essay, the civilized world might well despair. It is not clear whether the title means the science of political economy, or the economic conditions prevailing in the British Isles; but it makes no difference. If this is political economy, the dark ages have returned; and if the people of England are as decadent as Mr. Lawson declares them to be, there is little hope for them. Certainly there is none in the remedies here advised.

To be sure, the case is not superficially alarming. Wealth has increased, the author informs us, although he grudgingly calls it "wealth of a sort." "Fortunes can be quickly made in various ways without much effort; work of all kind is better paid than it ever was before; workmen get more and spend more than ever." This would seem to describe prosperity, but it only disquiets Mr. Lawson. To him the status of the Hindu laborer is ideal. Industry for its own sake, and not for the sake of its products, is his gospel. The popular idea that cheap food and cheap clothing are the most important of economic aims must be discarded. The Germans are wiser. They are more concerned about the extension of their industries than about cheap food. This truth, we may remind our readers, has been recognized by Professor Sumner in his classical epigram concerning the protection of the sugar industry in Germany: The Germans have the industry, and the English have the sugar.

It is not surprising that Mr. Lawson regards the industrial equipment of England as out of date, its commercial methods behind the time, its railways an incubus on trade instead of a help to it, and its Parliament the most helpless anomaly of all. We must say, however, that he appears quite incompetent to discuss such problems, and that most of his assertions do not de-

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serve atttention. We shall only observe that the main ground of his complaint is that the English import much of their food instead of producing it at home. He calculates that if all the money paid for imported food were spent in England, it would give permanent employment to nearly 4,000,000 farm laborers at a pound a week. A number of calculations of this stupefying character are presented to the reader, and he is invited to be impressed with "the overwhelming gravity of the facts."

"The Englishman of to-day," Mr. Lawson observes, "eats more, plays more, and works less than he did sixty years ago." It does not admit of question that, if there is a return to protective taxes, the Englishman of to-morrow will eat less, play less, and work more than he does now. That the English people should deliberately accept such a change as an improvement is incredible; and the arguments advanced in favor of the change should not impose upon even the wayfaring man.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, Andy. The Outlet. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Armitage-Smith, Sydney. John of Gaunt. Imported by Scribners. $4.50 net.
Baedeker's Northern France. Imported by Scribners. $2.10 net.
Battine, Cecil. The Crisis of the Confederacy. Longmans.
Beauchamp, William M. History of New York Iroquois. New York State Museum.
Blaisdell, Albert F., and Francis K. Ball. Short Stories from American History. Boston: Ginn & Co. 45 cents.
Chadwick, John White. Later Poems. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25 net.
Church's Story of the Iliad.—Story of the Odyssey. Macmillan Co.
Dampier, Margaret G. History of the Orthodox Church in Austria-Hungary. London: Rivingtons. 1s. 6d.
D'Arblay's (Madame) Diary and Letters. Vol. IV. Edited by Austin Dobson. Macmillan Co. $2.50.
Elkin, W. B. Hume's Treatise and Inquiry. Macmillan Co.
Fuller, Anna. A Bookful of Girls. Putnams. $1.50.
Goodrich, Arthur, and others. The Story of the Welsh Revival. Fleming H. Revell Co. 25 cents net.
Goodrich, Charles L. The First Book of Farming. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1 net.
Havingham, E. L. Dollar-Exchange Tables. Dutton. $2 net.
Haywood, John Campbell. Lily and the Prince of Spray. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.
Herford, C. H. Robert Browning. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1 net.
Ireland, Alleyne. The Far Eastern Tropics. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2 net.
Jones, Henry Arthur. Mrs. Dane's Defence. Macmillan Co. 75 cents.
Johnston, Charles, and Carita Spencer. Ireland's Story. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.40 net.
Kildare, Owen. My Mamie Rose. Baker & Taylor Co. $1.
Lambert, P. A., and H. A. Foering. Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. Macmillan Co.
Lapauze, Henry. Mélanges sur l'Art Français. Paris: Hachette.
Lau, Robert J. Abu Habba Cylinder of Nabuna'id. Leyden.
Lawler, Thomas Bonaventure. The Story of Columbus and Magellan. Boston: Ginn & Co. 45 cents.
Meyer's Der Schuss. Edited by M. H. Haertel. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Meyers Konversations-Lexikon. Volume IX., Hautgewebe-Ionicus. Lemcke & Buechner.
Miller, Joaquin, and Yone Noguchi. Japan of Sword and Love. Tokio: Kanao Bunyendo.
Mystic Text-Book, The. Framingham, Mass.: Mystic Publishing Co.
Newspaper Press Directory, 1905. London: C. Mitchell & Co.
Oxford Silver Pennies. Described by C. L. Stainer. Oxford University Press.
Pattee, Fred Lewis. The House of the Black Ring. Henry Holt & Co. $1.50.
Richardson, Norval. The Heart of Hope. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Richmond, Grace S. The Indifference of Juliet. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.50.
Roberts, Isaac Phillips. The Horse. Macmillan Co. $1.25 net.
Sargent, Charles Sprague. Trees and Shrubs. Part IV. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $5 net.
Schultz, Jeanne. La Neuvaine de Colette. Wm. R. Jenkins. 60 cents.
Scott's Quentin Durward. Edited by Arthur L. Eno. Macmillan Co.
Simpkinson, C. H. Thomas Harrison. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Sportsman's Year Book, 1905. Edited by A. Wallis Myers. Imported by Scribners. $1.25 net.
Stepniak. The Russian Peasantry. Dutton. $1.25 net.
Strong, Josiah. Social Progress. The Baker & Taylor Co. $1 net.
Thurston, E. Temple. The Apple of Eden. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Vacaresco, Hélène. Songs of the Valiant Voivode. Imported by Scribners. $2.50 net.
Van Vorst, Marie. Amanda of the Mill. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Waddington, Mary King. Italian Letters of a Diplomat's Wife. Scribners. $2.50 net.
Weir, Harrison. The Poultry Book. Part XV. Doubleday, Page & Co. 60 cents net.
White, Andrew Dickson. Autobiography. 2 vols. Century Co. $7.50 net.
Wilkins, Philip A. The History of the Victoria Cross. Dutton. $6 net.
Wilmot-Buxton, E. M. Makers of Europe.—The Ancient World. Dutton. $1 net.

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